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CONTENTS

W. Banning — The Meeting of Cultures: Reflexions of a Western Man 5

Paul K. T. Sih — The Mind of Asia in the Modern World 18

A. Dondeyne — Cultural Encounters: True and False Universalism 35

A. Retif — Events and Trends: Religion and Cultures 50

Kraemer, H., *Religion and the Christian Faith* 57
Kraemer, H., *From Missionfield to Independent Church* 58
Protestantisme et Missions 59
Christianity among the Religions of the World 60
West, C. C., Paton, D. M. (Eds), *The Missionary Church in East and West* . . . 60
Les Églises d'Afrique entre l'Évangile et la coutume 61
Couturier, Ch., *Mission de l'Église* . . 62
Rétif, A., *Catholicité* 62
Rétif, L. and A., *Pour une Église en état de mission* 62
Chappoulie, H., *Luttes de l'Église* . . 63
L'Église et les Civilisations 63
La Conscience Chrétienne et les Nationalismes 63
Ohm, Th., *Asia looks at Western Christianity* 64
Aspirations nationales et missions . . 65
Mission et cultures non-chrétiennes . . 65
Gardet, L., *Expériences mystiques en terres non-chrétiennes* 66
Gardet, L., *Thèmes et textes mystiques. Recherche de critère en mystique comparée* 66
Delacroix, S., *Histoire universelle des missions catholiques* 66
Santos Hernandez, A., *Adaptación misionera* 66
Mission et Liturgie 67

Wu, J., *Beyond East and West* 69
Houang, F., *Ame chinoise et christianisme* 69
Sih, P., *From Confucius to Christ* . . . 69
Van Straelen, H., *Où va le Japon ?* . . 70
Queguiner, M., *Introduction à l'Hindouisme* 70
Monchanin, J. and Le Saux, Dom, *Ermites du Saccidânanda* 70
First Asian Meeting for the Apostolate of the Laity 70
Asia per Cristo 70
Unesco Pax Romana Meeting in Manila . 70
Actes de la première rencontre des dirigeants d'apostolat des laïcs en terre africaine 70
Des prêtres noirs s'interrogent . . . 71
Seumois, X., *L'adaptation dans le culte* . 71
Mosmans, G., *L'Église à l'heure de l'Afrique* 71
Colin, P., *Aspects de l'âme malgache* . . 71

Fr. D. Pire — A Document: Peace - is it possible ? 73

Book Reviews
Dawson, Chr., *The Movement of World Revolution* (A. McCormack) 80
Couwenberg, Dr. S. W., *De strijd tussen Progressiviteit en Conservatisme* (L. Lauwers) 82
Hollis, Chr., *The Church and Economics* (A. McCormack) 83
Lin Yutang, *From Pagan to Christian* (H. Jomin) 84
Banning, Dr. W., *Moderne Maatschappij Problemen* (W. Dumon) 85
Banning, Dr. W., *Machten en Mensen* (W. Dumon) 86
Bailey, R. B., *Sociology Faces Pessimism* (L. Lauwers) 87
Reeks Mens en Medemens (Series Man and Fellowman) (L. Lauwers), 88. — Pieper, J., *De regels van het maatschappelijk spel*, 88. — Oldendorff, Dr. A., *Mensen onder elkaar*, 89. — Van der Ven, Dr. F.J.H.M., *Sociale grondrechten*, 89. — Anema, M. J., *De praktijk der Public Relations*, 89. — De Jong, Dr. J. J., a.o., *Pressiegroepen* . . 89
Delcourt, J., *Famille et Civilisation Urbaine* (A. McCormack) 90
Ryan, J., *Family Limitation* (A. McCormack) 92
Le régime et les institutions de la république populaire chinoise (H. Jomin) . . 93
Marxism in Southeast Asia (H. Jomin) . 94

Bibliography 95
Our contributors 141

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WILLEM BANNING

The Meeting of Cultures

Reflexions of a Western Man

Is it necessary to stress the fact that the considerations and reflexions which follow, are those of a western man ? Yes, but why ? Tibor Mende, a Hungarian by birth, and editor of the European edition of the New York Herald Tribune, published in 1954, when he was lecturing in the University of Paris, a work of deep insight entitled '*Regards sur l'Histoire de demain*'. He deals first of all with the map of the world in the time of our grandparents (as it appeared before the First World War); he then sketches out our own (that of the generation following on the Second World War - the period when the U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. appear as the new axes of world political power, whilst Europe is growing old and disintegrating); finally, he attempts to trace the map of the world as it will appear in the time of our grandchildren. The theme of his commentary is as follows: the West is being cited before the tribunal of history, and it has only a little time to make good in a certain measure all that it has spoilt. Or earlier, in 1953, Arnold J. Toynbee had undertaken a similar task in his book, *The World and the West*. He brings forward the Russians, Moslems, Hindus, Chinese, Japanese 'and all the rest', to denounce the West as the aggressor par excellence of modern times. Undoubtedly these moral, juridical and historical considerations have their importance: they shake our feeling of superiority and our pride, and they confront us with a past which we are only too apt to forget or to glorify. For all sorts of reasons, however, I should like to give to the relexions which follow a different character. They will be realistic, of course, based on the world of tomorrow and on immediate demands, and stripped of all proud self-exaltation; but they will not have so much the character of moral self-accusation. The kind of thought which seems to

me most fruitful is that which I would rather call 'responsible thought' (recalling the phrase 'responsible society' employed in the ecumenical terminology of the Churches). This postulates a kind of thinking which issues in terms of relationships in the world.

In doing this, we must keep well in mind the revolutionary changes which have already taken place and which are continuing at great speed. The word 'revolutionary' can have very different meanings. *Seen from Europe,* it indicates that profound modifications have been produced in the balance of powers in the world. China is in course of becoming a communist State. When one reflects that here is an evolution affecting not only more than 600 million human beings, but also a people who are endowed with great qualities and possess in addition an ancient and impressive culture, one realises that this event could become far more important for the history of the whole world than was the Russian Revolution of 1917. We say: Africa is in revolution. Seen from Europe, this signifies the throwing off of colonialism, and the search for a place among the established powers. *Seen from Africa,* it means much more. National states are arising from ethnic communities, and even from wars between ethnic groups. Young intellectuals and military men, trained by the West, are usurping the patriarchal power of the tribal chiefs. Industrialisation is making people converge on the towns where a proletarian mass is being formed and the old process of dehumanisation renewed. The old tribal religion (primitive animism) is being radically demolished. A spiritual void is being created, the consequences of which will be considerable. Ideas and demands are being put forward, such as liberty, emancipation, and progress, which in Europe have had a cultural content and foundation (Aufklärung), but which appear to us now today as an empty show of fireworks, but without our being able to disown them. We of the West must force ourselves — however difficult this may be for us — to look first of all at the new phenomena and relationships from the viewpoint of the conscious leaders of the new countries. This realism is essential for responsible thought — although it is neither its sole nor final condition.

2. 'The meeting of cultures' is obviously not a new phenomenon limited to the twentieth century. Confining myself to the period of the Renaissance (leaving aside an event of such influence as Hellenism, as well as the tidal flood of Islam towards the West in the seventh and eighth centuries) I find that it presents some striking differences compared with the phenomena of the twentieth century. It is doubtful whether one can include under a single common denominator — as regards both motives and consequences — the 'colonisation' carried out by European countries beginning with the Renaissance. One can nevertheless say that mercenary motives, that is to say, the appetite for wealth and on the other hand the extension of military power played a large part. To the question of what was the influence of western economy on that of a colony, one can give only a qualified reply. Undoubtedly, we can enumerate certain common charcteristics proper to 'colonialism', but we must also take account of historical evolutions which, for example, have been very different in South America and in the former Dutch East Indies.

The late Professor J. H. Boeke of Leyden always maintained that in regard to the Dutch East Indies we must take account of a 'double economy'. Here, there existed side by side an economy that was indigenous, pre-capitalist, and made up of the mass of poor small farmers in the dessa with their 'shared poverty', and on the other hand a capitalist economy imposed by the coloniser. Such was not at all the situation in, for example, South America. Moreover, colonial relations since the Renaissance cannot be considered solely in terms of economic categories. If we are ready to take account of the works of irrigation and afforestation undertaken in order to combat erosion, we must likewise commend the plans for agriculture and stock-breeding; the encouragement of co-operatives, the care for public health — under the form notably of the large-scale fight against infectious diseases such as smallpox, malaria, etc. — the raising of the level of general education, the creation of native elementary and high schools, etc. Of course, all this took place under the control of a colonial administra-

tive system. This meant a demographic stratification, made up of a thin white layer on top, a thick indigenous coloured layer at the bottom (which could never rise to the top), and a more or less substantial middle layer of mixed breeds, whose social and spiritual situation was extremely precarious. Basing ourselves on this decisive fact, we can say that there could not be fundamentally any question of a 'meeting' of cultures. Indeed, equality between partners did not exist. The division between the structures of the respective cultures of the rulers and the ruled coincided with that which separated the races, and was explicitly maintained so that political emancipation could only in these conditions be the result of a long process of education (in which moreover a large number of the ruling class did not believe).

The question of the extent to which capitalism — the dynamic factor par excellence in western countries — has in the form of colonialism had a stimulating or retrograde influence, must be examined separately for each territory. But we must show great reserve towards the opinion that western economy has had a life-giving influence on these regions.

It has seemed useful to me to recall these problems (the meeting of cultures through the medium of economic domination), because we are confronted with different problems, now that the era of colonialism has come to an end. Indeed, in the 'meeting' in the twentieth century the decisive role is played by modern technology much more than by economics.

3. The question arises: given the fact that in the cultural world of the West, technological development has progressed at a bewildering speed and now embraces the whole world; and given on the other hand the fact that the new nations, who aspire to or have already achieved independence and power, desire to acquire western technology but not the culture and civilisation of the west, which they identify with domination, the consciousness of superiority and military force: what is the significance of the meeting between the other cultures and western technology in the post-colonial era ? Under the banner of communist ideology, Lenin achieved what but a short time before had been reckoned impossible: he implanted western tech-

nology in Russia and made the U.S.S.R. the second world power. Mao Tse Tung is embarking on a similar experiment, but with a people whose governing class at the very least represents an old and firmly rooted culture. What significance will this experiment have for the world in fifty years' time ?

The question must moreover be clarified. First of all, what is technology and what does it presuppose ? In the West, where it has developed so far as to produce its own cultural type, it presupposes notably a group of sciences (physics, chemistry, biology, mathematics) which proceed by experiment and hypothesis to the discovery of causal relations; the latter are then utilised in the construction of machines which provide power both physical and intellectual. These machines, which are increasingly directed to mass production, bring greater prosperity and put products of every sort within the reach of every man. Thus, in the West at least, technology makes possible the elimination of poverty. This, furthermore, is the reason why it is so much coveted by the socalled underdeveloped nations.

Similarly we may ask ourselves: is it possible to hand over to other peoples this technology freed from its western, historical and cultural context ? Or inversely: can these peoples assimilate this technology without absorbing some important elements of its cultural context (as, for example, strictly scientific thought detached from any ideology) ? By means of some examples drawn from history, Toynbee has demonstrated clearly that this is impossible: every civilisation, considered as a form of life, is an indivisible whole, in which all the parts hold together and are bound up with each other ([1]).

A third question is the following: what have been the consequences for the western man of the rapid but one-sided development of the 'technische Vernunft'; what techniques are going to be employed, under what forms and to what extent, when industrialism gains a footing among underdeveloped peoples ? Attention has been frequently drawn to the gulf which has opened in the West between scientists and technicians on the one hand and those trained in the speculative

([1]) *The World and the West.* London, Oxford Univ. Press, 1953.

sciences (literature, philosophy, theology) on the other ([2]). One may point to the profound changes in methods of work which have been introduced in large industrial enterprises, and to their influence on the totality of human behaviour. It is possible to broaden the question and ask: what has happened to humanism in the West, after at least a century and a half of industrialisation ? Is there a new type of man being evolved, distinct from the man of the Middle Ages, from the man of the Renaissance, from the modern man of the 'Aufklärung' and the nineteenth century ? Will he be the materialist and sceptical type of man ? In the West, an evolution has taken place based on capitalism and political democracy. In Russia, the basis is formed by a state capitalism and soviet system, which have produced 'the soviet man'. What sort of man will be produced in other continents under different economic and political regimes ?

Without falling into the temptation of romantic prophecy, we can say, it seems to me, that in every region of the world where technology is beginning to dominate, society, man and culture will be subjected to a process of complete 'mashing' of the past, which will have its positive as well negative sides, and will set up social, political and spiritual tensions. I make this remark in order to hang a proposition on it: the introduction of technology gives rise everywhere to problems of education and social pedagogy. This is true for the West, where things follow a relatively progressive course; it is still more true of the so-called underdeveloped territories, where there is much greater backwardness and where the cultivation of the intellectual potential is as decisive as the finding of capital resources.

4. When, in the present world situation, we speak of underdeveloped territories, of rich countries and poor ones, we are referring especially to economic problems. In so far as I understand these things — not being an economist — it seems to me clear that only by thinking on a world-scale can we help to solve these extremely complicated problems. Sauvy ([3]) laid

([2]) Cfr. C. P. Snow, *The Two Cultures and the Scientific Revolution,* 1959.

([3]) Alfred Sauvy, *Théorie générale de la population.* Paris, P. U. F., t. I, 1952, pp. 241-242.

down ten criteria which apply to the concept of 'underdevelopment'. They are of an economic, social or political character (subordination of woman, weakness or absence of a middle class, and an authoritarian regime). A group of experts in the United Nations, in a report in 1954, formulated eight criteria which cannot be considered strictly economic, but which are nevertheless directly dependent on the economic situation. Here are these criteria in their order of priority:

1. the average expectation of life at birth;
2. the rate of infant mortality;
3. the nutrition, in calories, available per head of the population;
4. the percentage of children, aged from 5 to 14 years, attending a school;
5. the percentage of illiterates above a given age and according to sex;
6. the percentage of the population, of working age, which is without work;
7. the distribution, in percentages, of the population of working age in the different sectors of economic life;
8. individual consumption as a percentage of the national revenue.

I place myself wholeheartedly in the ranks of those who consider the enormous difference between rich countries and poor ones as a moral problem which ought to preocuppy the attention of the West. Do not our acquisitions and our privileges involve duties as well ? I likewise join with those who wish to attack the problem in political ways, and who advocate the establishment, by means of taxation, of a fund to be put at the disposal of international organisations which encourage economic development in the underdeveloped countries. But, ready as I am to give a hearing in the first place to the economists (if only they will stop thinking in terms of 'blocs'), the problem here seems to me to be much wider and more fundamental; it is a matter indeed of *social education.* People in the rich countries must ask themselves: what are we doing with our prosperity, whilst people elsewhere are destitute ? For the people in poor countries there is besides a problem of social

pedagogy: they must first of all by their own work achieve prosperity, and then take care that it is equitably divided and managed in their own fashion. In this respect, a double caution is needed. Firstly, we must be cautious with regard to the word 'industrialisation', to which there is a tendency to attribute a magical meaning. Technology and capital, it is thought, solve all difficulties — as if mentality, morality in the matter of work and social life with all its ideals and ideas did not count; as if a long process of education, adaptation, and formation of mind were not just as necessary. Secondly, true education cannot consist in imposing the western form of culture on the populations of Africa, Asia, etc... Its task on the contrary is to awaken the forces which are asleep. To educate is to bring to a state in which the educator is superfluous. There cannot truly be any question of a meeting between cultures except in liberty and freedom from tutelage.

It is clear that we are here formulating an educational ideal of a western character. We may even add that this ideal is in conformity with the interests of the West (which to my mind does not in any way reduce the relevancy of our arguments). When, as a mark of realism, we equally take account of world communism, in the problems with which we are dealing, we are compelled to acknowledge that communism as an experiment and a system, offers many attractions for the peoples who wish to overcome quickly their backwardness in matters of economics, technology and culture. We of the West can rightly say that the various evils of which Marx accused laisser-faire capitalism (exploitation, the disproportionate profits accruing to the owners of the means of production, the State, the great differences in incomes, the 'Selbstentfremdung') are found to the same extent in the Russian system, where they are reinforced by the dictatorship of the Party and by the ideology. But these arguments find little echo, or none at all, among the various underdeveloped peoples, among whom the conditions for democratic development, with its ideological premise — recognition of the dignity of man — are lacking. Experience has shown that to achieve rapid economic and technical development, dictatorship offers the best chances. This is the reason why realism

has made that a good dose of self-interest, even of anti-communism, has had a place in the motives which move the West to help the underdeveloped territories — and this will put difficulties in the way of the meeting between communism and the West.

5. These considerations have led me into the sphere of *politics*. We, who are not experts in this field, but are none the less involved, are brought up against problems of very great complexity, of which we know neither the facts nor the historical antecedents; and on the other hand we are confronted by some clear and fundamental problems which any uninitiated man can understand. I shall make a few observations only on the subject of the last. First of all: we still feel difficulty in the psychological and spiritual spheres in admitting that Europe, after having lived some two centuries in the conviction that it was the centre of world politics, has had to step down. There is secondly the fact that the struggle being waged by the communist countries with the object of acquiring world domination, is continuing, and is only camouflaged by the idea of coexistence. A third point: in confronting world communism the West presents itself as a weakly organised group of countries, which finds especially in Europe enormous difficulties in the way of achieving a common law. A fourth point: the fact of the atomic bomb, which means that science and technology are capable at any given moment of producing weapons of total destruction, even though at any stated time we proceed to the destruction of existing armaments. More than anything else, this fact compels us seriously to set about elaborating a *world law*. Finally: it is a fact that the Afro-Asian peoples are inclining towards neutralism. These peoples are being assailed by problems belonging to the post-colonial epoch, and they have no desire to be drawn into a conflict between the communist world and the West.

When we realise all the complexes of forces and tensions out of which must emerge the world relationship of tomorrow, it appears clear that, leaving aside other conflicts of interests, one single common interest stands out predominant, namely, the prevention of atomic war and the elaboration of a system

of world law. Professor Röling of Groningen repeats unceasingly that in the light of the situation which we have just outlined, it is necessary to make a fundamental revision of our ideas in the matter of international relations, and that the present law of nations, which is too deeply imbued with western concepts, must be developed until it becomes a world law ([4]). He is perfectly aware that competence in juridical techniques is not in itself sufficient. On his return from a congress in Moscow, he insisted recently on the fact that communist ideology is strongly inspired by a missionary spirit — a disquieting phenomenon for the West, and one which contrasts besides with its isolation and total incapacity to see things in a different fashion. Ernest Bloch, a communist who fell into disgrace in Eastern Germany and who was formerly a professor in Leipzig, has once formulated the proposition: 'Es kommt darauf an, das Hoffen zu lernen' ([5]).

I sometimes grow uneasy at seeing how we westerners concentrate 'with objectivity' on the communist conception of the world and on its numerous weaknesses, to the extent of forgetting how important it is 'das Hoffen zu lernen'. Do the peoples of the West truly identify themselves with the precept of justice to the point of being able to trace out for the world today the world law of tomorrow ? Undoubtedly, politicians are right to insist on the fact that new relationships of forces arise in politics only under the pressure of interests. The ideal alone does not carry far in politics. All the same, a spiritual force is equally required in order to prepare the world of tomorrow. As for self-interest, this is as evident as it could possibly be, since it consists in the necessity of avoiding the use of the atomic weapon. In regard to this, Jaspers is indisputably right in saying: 'der Tatbestand der Atombombe ist so ungeheuerlich, dass von ihm her die Politik in einen anderen Aggregatzustand versetzt wird' ([6]). Henceforth, it is for the West a

([4]) Cfr. B. V. A. Röling, *International Law in an expanded World.* Amsterdam, Djambatan, 1960.

([5]) Ernst Bloch, *Das Prinzip Hoffnung.* Bd. I, 1954.

([6]) Karl Jaspers, *Die Atombombe und die Zukunft des Menschen.* München, Piper, 1958, p. 54.

question of knowing if it can muster sufficient moral power to participate in the elaboration of a world law. I am too little of a politician to risk saying whether the leaders of the western nations are capable of the 'responsible thought' and action of which the world with its present fearful tensions stands in need. The old depositaries of power, and their heirs, are not customarily the first to raise the banner of justice and disinterestedness, and to bring their thinking into conformity with new demands. We can only repeat: the East-West problem, viewed from the political angle, appears to be a problem of education, of radical transformation in ways of thought. For the West, it is above all a matter of self-education.

6. Every culture possesses its own credo. This consists not in a series of fundamental formulas which must be suscribed to, or which the young generation learns by heart, but in a totality of values and convictions, which are products of history and inscribed in the hearts of the people, at the price of sufferings and struggles. The existence of such a creed in no way excludes, but on the contrary leads to actions in the social and political sphere, both at home and abroad, which are constantly in contradiction with the values and convictions which they are claimed to profess or to illustrate. By a creed, I do not mean convictions of a specifically religious character, but for example the belief of the average American that every citizen in his society enjoys equal opportunities, or that of the average communist that socialist liberty reigns in Russia. In the meetings of cultures in the twentieth century, which are taking place over the whole world the cultural creeds play an important part, both negatively and positively; at one moment they favour the acceptance of a new situation, at another they induce self-complacency and immobility.

Within these cultural creeds, and indeed over and above them, operates the spiritual heritage of a religious and moral character, and this in its turn, is subject to economic, social and political factors past and present. In dynamic or revolutionary periods, this means that the 'religions' of a culture — and this is just as valid in the West for Christianity as for Humanism — is con-

strained by force to subject itself to a process of reflexion and self-purification.

Confining myself to the West, where our primary responsibility lies, and considering Christianity, which the present writer professes, it appears that true Christians are being constrained to subject themselves to this process of reflexion and self-purification, and this owing to two factors: first, by the totality of forces, coming from the western world itself, or by what Th. Spoerri called 'die Götter des Abendlandes', our gods and our demons; secondly, by the totality of problems which are assailing the western world from the outside: communism, the Afro-Asian world, the underdeveloped territories, etc... In this respect, phrases such as 'one world or no world' and 'the coming world civilization' seem to me to be somewhat premature and unconsidered. Undoubtedly, one would have to be blind in order not to see that the interdependence of peoples is growing. But for the moment, the ideological gulfs are still too deep for us to be able to speak of 'one world' or of a single 'world civilization'. Interdependence on the one hand, and the extension of technological civilization on the other, as well as the existing ideological tensions, have the like consequences that all the great religions find themselves in a state of fermentation that is profoundly corrosive, and they are being compelled to reform themselves from the inside and to change their attitudes towards each other ([7]).

With regard to the preceding reflexions, and confining myself to our western world and to Christianity, I should like to make the following observations. It is a fact that our tradition in Europe puts great emphasis on dogma, on dogmatic differences and conflicts. However, I put forward this proposition: in our relationships among ourselves in Europe (where we must take account of the growing influence of non-religious or anti-religious forces), as well as in the problems thrust upon us by Russia, Asia and Africa, the significance of the Christian faith will be judged by what it has to offer in the way of *acts* of warm

([7]) Hendrik Kraemer, *Worldcultures and Worldreligions, the coming Dialogue*, 1960.

inspiration, bringing freedom and reconciliation. In other words, it will be judged on moral grounds. When I think, not only of the relations between the various Christian confessions, but also of their contacts with world religions, which all have their own ramifications in the cultural, political, economic and social structures and events, it is sensible, indeed imperative, to make the necessary distinctions in the question of the absolute bond between Christianity and Christ. In the nineteenth century, under the influence of the science of comparative religions, the problem of the absolute character of Christianity was raised. Today, helped by the growing confusion and spiritual disarray, we see more clearly that Christianity in all its forms is merely a value, bound up with history, culture and social facts. But we also see that for the believers of every confession, Christ himself is the absolute norm. In other words, the facts compel us to extend our thoughts beyond the confessions, in the line of thought of the Imitation. While we must not thereby fail in faithfulness to our church and our traditions, we are being asked to have the readiness and courage to consider as purely relative, what must be so, in our confrontation with Christ, the Lord. Only in this way, it seems to me, can Christians and the churches make their positive contribution to the ethics of which we have urgent need in the meeting of cultures.

After writing the above, I have a fear that someone may take my ideas as a recipe which it is sufficient to apply in order to obtain a cure. In the middle of the twentieth century, things are not so simple, either in Europe or a fortiori in the world at large. My reflexions are inspired by the consideration that humanity is faced on all fronts with such enormous difficulties, such threats and dangers, that the tasks awaiting it seem to require superhuman powers; but they are also inspired by the conviction that in this age of disquiet, confusion and human suffering, great possibilities are offered to those who dare to take the road of the Imitation. May 'responsible thought' make us find the way.

(Translated by John Joyce S. J.)

PAUL K. T. SIH

The Mind of Asia in the Modern World

I

The spectrum of the Asian mind is a fascinating thing to behold, but difficult to comprehend. Its cultural variations and its historical phases of development are too complex. Yet it is necessary that we have some appreciation of both the present expression as well as the past history of Asian mental development. No single type of formation and no single phase of development can be identified as distinctively and universally Asian. But whatever the complexity of the past there do exist in the present certain common problems throughout the Asian world. This makes it possible and even necessary to undertake a study of Asia as a whole. The unity of this study comes not from the inner form of the various Asian societies but from the unity of the challenge imposed upon them.

If we begin in the present we observe that the Asian response to the challenge of the modern world is characterized by a threefold effort of mind each of which has profound implications for the entire world. First there is the effort of each Asian society to discover and assert its cultural and political identity. This might be considered the foremost preoccupation of Asian peoples at this moment. The confusion of the present demands that each society of Asia attain a new awareness of the unifying forces which hold it together and differentiate it from other surrounding societies. This new effort at identity is particularly important at this moment for these societies are now for the first time threatened with loss of those spiritual traditions that

in former centuries supplied their basic life experience and their sense of values. Now these peoples must rediscover their old values or discover new values wherein they can place their deepest loyalties, for every vital society is founded on values worthy of being fostered with all possible energy and of being defended with life itself.

The second effort of contemporary Asian societies is the effort each is making to relate itself to the larger world community of peoples, cultures and nations. All realize that full expansion of a native way of life requires the assistance that societies bestow upon each other. No society can go its way alone in the contemporary world in the economic, cultural or spiritual affairs of man. More now than ever before isolation is a sterile and decadent situation. The closed communities of the past are gone. If there is a closing off of some nations of the world to others, it is done as a group of nations rather than as a single nation. Even in this situation the result is a choking off of vital sources of life development. This need of communication has given rise to complex cultural, economic, and political associations of peoples which range all the way from informal and bi-lateral associations to regional, continental and world associations. The new adjustment taking place in the international relations of Asia is especially significant for the future of the world. Asian peoples are now released from direct and indirect control by western colonial powers. They are also released from unreasonable subservience to their own past traditions. They must make a choice. This choice of international and inter-cultural associations will have great influence on the outcome of the tremendous intellectual and spiritual conflicts raging beneath our present political tensions.

The third effort of the Asian mind is the effort to guide the Asian world in its desire to attain a truly modern form of living. Asia wishes to share in modern education, modern science and technology, modern thought and art and literature, as well as in modern political and social developments. The archaic past is still a most powerful force in the lives of the people generally, especially of the village people of Asia. Yet for the educated, for the people in the larger cities of Asia, and for those in

positions of authority, the ways of the past are no longer acceptable. The difficult problem is how to advance into the modern world of science and technology without breaking so deeply with the past that the society becomes profoundly demoralized and loses its contact with the abiding cultural and spiritual values that are enshrined at the heart of every tradition. This conflict between traditionalism and modernism, though it has different forms in Asia, is even more intense there than in the West. Asian nations have entered the modern world later and, as it were, from without. Thus the reaction in both directions tends to make for that violent situation which constantly threatens to erupt in revolutionary action to the right and to the left.

It would be of benefit if we could here consider these efforts as they appear in the actual life of each Asian society. Since this is not possible I would at least make a few observations about India, China and Japan and the manner in which each of these countries has faced the challenge of adjustment to the modern world. The main point of these observations is to indicate that the distinctive intellectual and social developments now taking place in these societies are determined largely by their formation in the past. We should seek some depth of understanding in our approach to Asia even when our primary concern is that of fostering their advance in the economic and technological order. We must be realistic and immediate in dealing with the present, willing to make creative departures form the past. Yet we must not fail to see the deeper background which profoundly conditions every society in its life adjustment to this century.

II

India, the most complex society in Asia as regards its geographic, racial and cultural complexity, is making an admirable effort to attain its modern self-identity. The main difficulty is that modern life is closely bound up with the secularist life attitude. This makes a special problem, for the basic experience of India throughout the entire course of her history has been

the experience of the holy. The Indian mind has been particularly sensitive to divine reality. Divine reality has in turn imposed itself with overwhelming force on the total life of the people. Even after centuries of association with the western world India finds extraordinary difficulty in attaining that desirable feeling for the secular order that must preceed effective work in the present. Everything in India tends to turn into religion. For Aurobindo Ghose: 'Nationalism is not a mere political program; nationalism is a religion that has come from God' ([1]). Men can, in his view, work effectively in the present only if they realize that they are 'instruments of God'. This religious attitude has marked almost every outstanding Indian leader since the time of Ram Mohan Roy (1772-1833) who began the entire process of modernizing India. Tilak (1856-1920) who began the movement of popular agitation for freedom in India was deeply influenced by the spirituality of the *Bhagavadgita*. Therein he found the basis of his program of action. Indeed his most extensive work, written while in prison, is a commentary on the *Bhagavadgita* in the tradition of the great commentators that began with Shankara in the eighth century. Gandhi also found in the moral and religious consecration of India the basic distinction between Indian civilization and the civilization of the West: 'The tendency of Indian civilization is to elevate the moral being, of the Western civilization is to propagate immorality. The latter is godless, the former is based on a belief in God' ([2]). This tradition of reform intimately connected with spiritual motivation is being continued by Vinoba Bhave, the successor of Gandhi as the outstanding spiritual leader in the work for the social betterment of India. These Indian leaders, recognized and followed by the Indian people on a vast scale, reveal the difficulty India is experiencing in its discovery of the secular order and the fundamental validity of secular values.

The effort of India to find its proper place in the world community also reveals the fundamental spiritual motivation of the Indian people. The idea of a world community of nations itself

([1]) *Sources of Indian Tradition*, ed. William T. de Bary. New York, Columbia University Press, 1958, p. 728.

([2]) *Ibid.*, p. 809.

has never been a difficult idea for modern India. Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941) saw quite clearly in the 1920's that 'From now onward, any nation that takes an isolated view of its own country will run counter to the spirit of the New Age, and know no peace' ([3]). In typcal Indian fashion he argued this position on a spiritual basis. In 1921 he wrote: 'Our fight is a spiritual fight — it is for Man. We are to emancipate Man from the meshes that he himself has woven round him — these organizations of national egoism. The butterfly will have to be persuaded that the freedom of the sky is of higher value than the shelter of the cocoon' ([4]). India must consider herself the necessary instrument of world unity: 'Let the awakening of the East impel us consciously to discover the essential and universal meaning of our own civilization... to make it a great channel of communication between all human races' ([5]).

A similar attitude toward the world community of nations can be found in the policy of Nehru though without such explicit spiritual basis. Indeed the basis of his internationalism is Marxist: 'I am convinced that the only right way of looking at our problems is to see them in their proper place in a world setting. I am convinced that there is intimate connection between world events and our national problem is but a part of the world problem of capitalist-imperialism' ([6]). Yet we see in his neutralist position in world affairs a motivation that is more spiritual than he realizes. This effort at neutralism in the midst of the present struggle between the great powers of the world is a most difficult thing for the more positive nations, particularly for those with a crusading past, to understand and accept. Indeed it is difficult to decide whether neutralism is to be considered a display of Indian passivism and unwillingness to act in the practical order and thus an influence profoundly detrimental to the defense of peace and freedom wherein tyranny and inhumanity continue their unopposed progress or whether it is to be considered the only way to reconcile the massive op-

([3]) *Ibid.*, p. 796.
([4]) *Ibid.*, p. 791.
([5]) *Ibid.*, p. 799.
([6]) *Ibid.*, p. 900.

posed forces which otherwise might soon come to a conflict of catastrophic proportions. Whatever be the answer to this question, the attitude of India, even within its present secularist political regime, can be understood only in the light of its ancient spiritual tradition.

The intellectual difficulty that India experiences in acting within the modern world is seen also in her efforts at modernization. India must sustain a fierce economic struggle in the present and immediate future if she is to remain a vital society in the modern world. Village India must be awakened to positive and decisive efforts, must be helped and guided and encouraged in the fundamental work of creating a modern economy. Efforts have been made particularly by Aurobindo, Gandhi and Vinoba Bhave and many others to bring about this modernization process under the inspiration of traditional Indian spirituality rather than in opposition to this spirituality. The full exposition of the spiritual approach was outlined especially by Aurobindo in his defense of the ancient ideals of India against the accusation that these ideals were negativistic toward the secular order. 'The ancient Indian culture attached quite as much value to the soundness, growth and strength of the mind, life and body as the old Hellenic or the modern scientific thought, although for a different end and a greater motive. Therefore to everything that serves and belongs to the healthy fullness of these things, it gave free play, to the activity of the reason, to science and philosophy, to the satisfaction of the aesthetic being and to all the many arts great or small, to the health and strength of the body, to the physical and economical well-being, ease, opulence of the race, — there was never a national ideal of poverty in India as some would have us believe, nor was bareness or squalor the essential setting of her spirituality, — and to its general military political and social strength and efficiency' ([7]).

The position of Aurobindo that fidelity to the past is essential to the modern reconstruction of India is also the position of Gandhi who proclaimed very early in his career that 'it behooves every lover of India to cling to the old Indian civilization

([7]) *Renaissance in India,* Calcutta, Arya Publ., 1920, pp. 68, 69.

as a child clings to the mother's breast' ([8]). Yet the difficulty is simply that programs presented by these men have not brought forth the adequate direction or the effective effort that is needed to transform the economy of India. Thus the reaction of M.N. Roy (1887-1945) is understandable. He argued against every spiritual position of India as a falsification of the problem. He even considered that communication of India's spirituality would ruin any country to which it was communicated. Defending his anti-spiritual philosophy he wrote: 'The materialist philosophy throws a flood of light on that perspective of the future of mankind. India's spiritual message, on the contrary, would teach the West to turn back upon the goal within reach and relapse into medieval barbarism' ([9]). Thus despite the efforts to sustain a spiritual motivation for the modernization of India there is reason to believe that the present trend is toward a more pragmatic effort, one that goes directly to the economics of contemporary problems and seeks a life adjustment incompatible with the ancient spirituality of the country. This spirituality, it is argued, should be kept in the past where it rightly belongs. Progressive secularization of education is gradually having its effect. For the immediate future we may expect a certain intellectual confusion about ends and values along with greater effort and ability in organizing the material way of life. This is now leading to a certain demoralization in fundamental life attitudes. A final problem emerges: How effective can a society be in the practical organization of life when a profound upset is taking place in the spiritual structure of the society?

III

To pass now to China we find there a divided country with the mainland tightly under Communist control and with Taiwan under Nationalist control. Each is making a supreme effort to establish the modern identity of China, to determine the con-

([8]) *Sources of Indian Tradition, op.cit.*, p. 809.
([9]) *Ibid.*, p. 913.

text of China's association with the world community, and to lead China into its modern creative age. But before taking up the present situation it is best to consider the basic problem of China as it arises from the background of the past.

First as regards its identity in the cultural and political orders we should note that the earliest experience of China was the experience of the cosmic order and the universal harmony manifested there. The human order was experienced as an integral part of this cosmic order. This lead to a development of a Humanism that is as distinctive to China as mysticism is the finest and most distinctive development of India. As this experience of the cosmic order was universal in its extension so the Chinese experience of the culture evoked under this experience was dominated by a sense of universalism. There was only the Chinese culture. Outside was the world of barbarism. This intellectual experience of universal order was deepened by political experience of control over vast territories in Asia. It seemed that a real cosmic rule had been granted to the imperial regime of China. This feeling of cosmic identity was even further enhanced by the length of time during which the Chinese rule endured.

Precisely because of this universalism we observe in China an extreme difficulty in attaining a sense of cultural and political identity in the modern sense of these words. It took the Opium War, the later humiliating treaties with European powers, the defeat by Japan in 1894, the march on Peking by the European powers and Japan in 1900, the encroachment of Russia in the north, the Revolution of 1911 and the unjust treatment of China at Versailles in 1919 to awaken China to the reality of the surrounding world and to awareness of its own national identity. The great contribution of Dr. Sun Yat-sen was in expressing this need for a sense of national identity. He saw with exceptional clarity that the precise difficulty facing China was the difficulty of contracting its world view from the universal to the particular, from the conception of itself as identical with the total political and cultural order of mankind to a conception of itself as one element in a multi-cultural and a multinational world. He wrote: 'Cosmopolitanism is the same thing

as China's theory of world empire two thousand years ago.... If today we want to restore the standing of our people we must first restore our national spirit...' ([10]). The means of attaining this identity was the doctrine of nationalism. 'If we do not earnestly espouse nationalism and weld together our four hundred million people into a strong nation, there is danger of China's being lost and our people being destroyed. If we wish to avert this catastrophe, we must espouse nationalism and bring this national spirit to the salvation of the country' ([11]). The efforts of Sun finally bore fruit when the explosive student riots began in 1919. From that time onward there has never been any doubt about nationalist feeling in China.

Yet this was only the beginning. The further question immediately imposed was whether this identity should be fostered within the international context of the liberal democratic societies of the West or whether this identity should be fostered within international association of communist societies then in process of formation under the guidance and control of Moscow. The treatment of China in the past by the nations of Europe had led to a resentment which was aggravated and intensified by some of the radical elements within the society. These more extreme spirits sought to capture the revolutionary movements for a government orientated toward the Communist community of nations. By the end of the 1920's there was a strong intellectual movement in favor of a Marxist solution for the national and international problems of China. Yet the greater number within the revolutionary tradition of Sun saw the disastrous end of association with Communism and the need for keeping an independent status. The alternative was strong reliance on support from the western powers, even though most of these powers in the 1930's showed themselves consistent supporters of Japan in opposition to the welfare of China. This was the difficulty — how to ward off both Japan and the Soviet while receiving only limited support from the West.

In the end the assistance and immediate presence of the So-

([10]) *Sources of Chinese Tradition*, ed. William T. de Bary. New York, Columbia University Press, 1958, p. 770.

([11]) *Ibid.*, p. 769.

viet on the borders of China, the attractive simplicity of the Marxist world-view to youthful intellectuals, the weakening in the West of its own devotion to a liberal and democratic Asia, and the limited support granted to China caused a fateful decision in favor of Communist control of the continent. It was a bitter struggle, one that continues until today and is not yet resolved. Yet the West and the world are awakened to the greatness of China and to the fact that it will always be one of the supremely important nations of the world. The importance of China in any world order is even being impressed upon the Communist nations who finally have become aware that within the Communist alliance Red China threatens, in ideology and in power, to take the position of leadership — in the tradition of China's past dominion over the vast reaches of central and east Asia. With Nationalist China situated in the international context of the Free World and Communist China in the international context of the Communist World, the China tragedy is caught up in the larger world conflict of nations.

Meanwhile the severity of the conflict is driving both to intensive programs of modernization. The movement away from traditional ways of living and thinking is now complete. During the past twenty-five centuries China looked to the past for its model form of life, for its ideals of government, for its fundamental life values. To face forward and to advance into the future required a certain violent effort that the Chinese of the 19th century could not make. The government was too fixed in its ancient ways, the scholar gentry too committed to the humanist tradition, the people too limited in their vision and in their capacity to act. It was only in the second decade of this century that the delayed reaction set in. Beginning in 1917 and continuing through the next two decades, there was waged in China a severe conflict in favor of a total break with the former ways of thinking and acting. The final victory of modernization came with an undisciplined vigor that caused resentment against the past in China much more severe than the anti-medieval tradition generated in the West. These two resentments of the young Chinese revolutionary, the one against the western powers for their former treatment of China and the

other against traditional China for its stifling of human development can be considered the two forces that moved China toward the Communist orbit. Students were particulary attracted by extremist efforts to bring about a forward thrust into the modern age. They had the daring to enter into the age of discontent described by Hu Shih when he wrote: 'The most outstanding characteristic of Eastern civilization is to know contentment, whereas that of Western civilization is not to know contentment' ([12]). There is a profound truth in this statement about western civilization and the modern world in general. To become modern and westernized is to pass from a world of unchanging adherence to fixed patterns to a world that is constantly in motion, constantly changing, constantly dissatisfied with every established form of life. A more abrupt transition could hardly be imagined than that between traditional patterns of Chinese life in the past and the ever-changing condition of the modern world. The transition was difficult, but when it did come it came with a fury that swept China far beyond the limits of sound and reasonable adjustment to the new creative possibilities offered in the Free World. From one controlled society of the past, mainland China experienced a brief moment of freedom and then passed into another fixed pattern of life far more oppressive and stifling to human development than anything known in the past.

IV

To understand the mind of modern Japan we must begin with its earliest religious experience. This experience was closer to the religious experience of India than to that of China. It was the experience of *kama,* of the divine reality manifested in all forms of the natural order. The difference is that this experience in Japan remained in its original simplicity. It had no extensive ritual, spiritual or intellectual development such as took place in India. However it did provide a basis for the

([12]) *Ibid.,* p. 853.

experience the Japanese had of themselves as a united people distinct from all other peoples. It also provided a mythical origin and permanent sanction for the rule of the imperial house as the descendants of divine ancestors. Nothing can be understood of Japanese developments in ancient or in modern times without knowing this background of Japanese life. Because of this early religious experience, indicated later by the word *Shinto,* Japan has been able to remain itself even after being overwhelmed by the spiritual, cultural and political influences of Confucianism and Buddhism and, in more modern times, by the immense tide of influence from the West.

This sense of identity begun in the earliest centuries of Japanese history was fostered in a special way throughout the Tokugawa period (1603-1868). In this period the School of National Learning arose. With rare insight it outlined the deepest emotional, mental and religious characteristics of the Japanese and described the divine mission of Japan to the world community. When the challenge of the modern world came and Japan found it necessary to establish its modern national identity the transition was made with little difficulty. Japan entered wholeheartedly into the new age. No other people of the non-western world has shown such genius, such assurance or such self-awareness in this work as the Japanese. It was the past discipline of the society that enabled it to produce those outstanding leaders of the Meiji period, men who must be considered among the greatest political figures of their century. Within a half-century after the visit of Commodore Perry, Japan was recognized as one of the major powers in the entire world.

Tragedy, however, was intimately related to this success. For the divine mission of Japan expounded by Motoori Norinaga, by other members of the School of National Learning and by Mito historians led Japan to a belief in its destiny to rule over all of Asia and even over the entire world. Within thirty years of the Restoration in 1868, Japan had defeated China. Within 40 years she had defeated Russia in the Pacific area. From that time there was increasing belief in Japan that its own survival and the peace and well-being of the Asian world depended upon the imperial rule of Japan. It seems fantastic and un-

believable when we read of the studied sureness of Japan and of the extent of the political controls Japan envisaged for herself prior to the recent war.

In the writings of Sato Nobuhiro we can see how extensive were the illusions of grandeur that were rife in Japan throughout the 18th and 19th centuries. Speaking of Japan he writes: 'Facing the ocean on four sides, for convenience of ocean transportation it has no equal among the nations of the world. Its people, living on sacred land, are superior, excelling those of other countries for bravery and resoluteness. In truth they are fully capable of holding the reins of the world. From this position of strength they could majestically command the world in every direction, and by virtue of the awesome prestige of this Imperial Land, they could readily subjugate the puny barbarians and unify the world under their control. Ah, how boundless have been the blessings of the creator on our Imperial Land' ([13]).

To put these ideas into effect Japan needed only the western instruments of warfare and the example of the West in its use of power politics. Once these were communicated to Japan the tragic episodes of the Far East in the recent war were on their way. Now that it is over Japan remains in a period of difficult intellectual adjustment, humiliated and confused but still conscious of her ability, of her leading position in the Far East and of the need to maintain her position in the world community.

In her mental adaptation to the modern world Japan, in contrast to both India and China, has responded immediately and with astounding success. In education, literature and the arts, in science and technology, Japan had entered enthusiastically in the roder of things. Nostalgia for the former pattern of life remained but the abrupt change was modified by keeping closely in contact with the forms and spirit of the past. The one area in which Japan was either less or more modern than the West was in its political structure. By keeping an authoritarian political structure Japan was able to coordinate the effort of moder-

([13]) *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, ed. William T. de Bary. New York, Columbia University Press, 1958, p. 576.

nization and to provide the non-western world with the model of what in more recent times has come to be designated as 'guided democracy'. Of the modern technical skill of Japan, there cannot be any doubt, of the political ability also there can be no doubt. The greatest problem is the intellectual and spiritual problem of ends and purposes and values in life. Here Japan is in a state of profound difficulty from which she will emerge only with the greatest effort.

V

These are the problems that occupy the mind of Asia in our times and these are the efforts being made to deal with these problems. The result is a striking transformation in the life of Asian peoples. The 19th century was decisive. At the end of that century it was clear that Asia could no longer continue in its former life patterns. The entire intellectual situation was changed. A new age has begun. Yet with the new age came new difficulties which must be clearly understood if Asian peoples are to advance into a truly better world.

First as regards the new sense of national identity, it is clear that the nation is the fundamental unit of modern life and the context within which education and economics, social betterment and all other basic achievements of the 20th century must be developed. Yet in the effort to bring together the total resources of the nation there is, particularly in the newly developing countries, the danger of a fundamental disregard for the higher spiritual and intellectual development of the individual. There is a tendency to politicize life in an absolute way — in line with the inscription at the base of the statue of Kwame Nkrumah in Accra which reads: 'Seek ye first the political kingdom and all other things shall be added unto it'. The vital well-springs of human and national development lie deeper than the political order and any society that fails to recognize this is doomed to a human dissatisfaction which is of benefit neither for the individual person, nor for the society, nor for the political community as such.

The second difficulty that emerges at the present time is a new sensitivity to other nations, particularly to nations that have in the past conquered the homeland and subjected it to colonial status. The colonial era is past but the memory of it survives and the hurt attitude of many nations leads them to a type of antagonism that does no good for either themselves or the world community. It is particularly tragic when resentment at former imperial powers leads to cooperation with the new world imperialism that now dominates a large part of the world and shows itself far more oppressive and far more destructive of basic human rights and values.

The third difficulty that emerges in Asia is found principally in the economic order. Asian peoples have become aware that a better economic context for human life can be brought into being. They are aware of the possibilities of science and technology. They see the comforts and even luxuries that are now commonplace in the western world. They desire for themselves at least the necessities of life which, it seems, are forever eluding their grasp. Some people in every Asian nation have improved their condition. However the masses of the people are in many instances worse off at the present time than they were a generation ago. The building of a world economy in which the wealth of the world will have more equal distribution is not being undertaken on the scale that is necessary. This is creating a fierce and smoldering resentment. In former centuries, want and deprivation were accepted by an uncomplaining people as a condition inseparable from life itself. At least certain spiritual consolations were intimately associated with their lives. But now the spiritual foundations of life have been destroyed, their eyes have been opened to new and real possibilities of relief, and their whole being has been sensitized to the afflictions they endure. This leads to an unendurable situation. This should and must lead to greater effort on the part of the world community. But meanwhile a very serious temptation is presented to all of Asia and particularly to the intellectual leaders who are looking for a new gospel of hope. This temptation is the temptation of revolutionary utopianism. This

utopianism constitutes the most serious of all dangers for Asia and for the entire world.

Utopianism is a strange phenomenon that originated in the West and now is communicated to all the world. When kept within bounds it can be a creative force for good, giving to man the inspiration needed for building a more satisfying world for human living. However in its exaggerated form it is the most disastrous force that has ever entered into the social and political life of man. This exaggerated utopianism is in a sense the curse of the West and the modern world as traditionalism was formerly the curse of Asia and the world of antiquity. All revolutionary movements of the present and much of the torment and struggle and dissatisfaction of the peoples of the world arises from the belief that we possess the magic whereby the earthly setting of life can be transformed into a real paradisal state. The accusation brought against our age is that if this transformation is not brought about immediately, it is due either to the wickedness or the inefficiency of existing governments. Therefore they must be replaced — by violence if necessary. This utopian mirage, fostered by revolutionary forces, thus becomes the means of obtaining political control of societies throughout the world. Any regime can be easily destroyed by these revolutionary movements. If they do not come under just condemnation according to ordinary human standards of justice and efficiency, then they are brought to judgement under utopian standards, and by these standards nothing can escape condemnation.

One further consequence of utopianism is that it leads to the most profound misunderstanding between the peoples of East and West. I know of no greater source of East-West misunderstanding than the tendency of each to judge the other, not according to complete information but according to utopian standards of absolute perfection, according to very limited information, and often enough with little sympathy for the basic difficulties faced by these other societies.

So far as Asia is concerned the remedy for this situation lies in the new class of younger Asian intellectuals who in every sphere of life are called upon to guide their peoples in their

futur development. One of the greatest contributions this class of intellectuals can make to the national and international development of Asia is to encourage their peoples to the arduous effort that is before them, holding before them ideals of a better life, while at the same time carefully avoiding needless stirring up of resentments and rebellion founded more on utopian idealism than on a fundamental realism. Wise and patient effort in lifting up the nation to a full expression of itself, in establishing the nation in its proper place in the world community and in modernizing the economy will in the end attain what will certainly be impossible if the society is constantly disturbed by agitation founded on illusory ideals beyond human capacity of attainment.

ALBERT DONDEYNE

Cultural Encounters: True and False Universalism

There are good grounds for believing that the major issue of our age is the unification of our planet.

If this be so, then our century's crucial problem will be to reconcile the unity of the world with the diversity of worlds, and planetary universalism with the singularity of human cultures. For a christian this problem implies yet another: that of the encounter of christian uiversalism, the catholicity of the faith, with human uiversalism, born of the unification of the world.

§ 1. *The idea of universality*

For an understandig of what follows, it is of the highest importance to realize that *universal* is an ambiguous word, subject to various readings. In short, it has an abstract meaning tending to impoverishment, and a concrete one resulting in enrichment. Thus we can distinguish between a true and a false universalism. Though the term universality implies a diversity brought into unity, yet this gathering together of diverse elements into one whole may come about in several different ways: either by a process of generalization and impoverishment, or by synthesis.

In the first case we have to do with an abstracted form of universality, an over-simplified one. Now such a concept of abstract universality, whether generic or specific, permits us

to bring together a multitude of individual cases under one common denominator, but at the cost of excluding all that diversifies individuals from one another; take for example the general concept of man, animal, or thing. Equally, the quantitative or metrical aspect of things is also an *abstract* one, since it requires the abstraction of the specifying qualities that make up the infinite variety and beauty of reality. Of course this metrical aspect of the world, which indeed the positive sciences make it their business to discover, is of immense value to humanity. As everyone knows, it is the progressive application of mathematics, in the first place to the study of nature (physical and biological sciences), then to the exploitating of nature by man (by means of constantly improved and standardized tools), and finally to human relations themselves (economic, statistical and sociological sciences), that accounts for the immense advances man has realized since the end of the middle ages. But it is no less evident that were it to become *an end in itself* and man's main purpose in life, the reign of technology, with its exclusive concentration on applied mathematics, mechanization and standardization, would mean the death of all true culture, and the disappearance of all that gives value to our existence and joy to our living. The universalism engendered by technical achievement as such represents an impoverishment and a sort of void. It gives man ever more scope in space, but a space that remains to be filled.

Whereas the universalism we called concrete and resulting in enrichment, is something entirely different. Far from discounting originality and singularity, it gives them great weight and is their best guarantee. We have in mind the universality of a work of art, of a powerful and original philosophy, or again, of hero or saint. Here, far from being mutually exclusive terms 'singularity', 'originality' and 'universality', are complementary. It is the *exceptional* that, by a strange paradox, becomes an example *for all,* an inexhaustible fount of light and life for each and every one.

If Plato's work is unique in the history of human thought, it is thanks to this very uniqueness that Plato still lives for us, and continues to gather round him those who would phi-

losophize. But the thing is only worth while if we really listen to him; not just learning our Plato by rote and quoting him mechanically, but making an effort to grasp him in his inexhaustible originality. In other words, it is in *converse* with Plato, in the recognition of his outstanding personality, that his message acquires validity, universal and eternal. The same could be said of any vital and original work. This is scarcely surprising when we remember that true 'originality' means a return to sources and a revealing of 'origins', that is, man in his profound, essential nature, the most authentically universal and vital part of him.

We can now begin to see where our line of thought is leading us in our search for authentic universalism with its power of enrichment. It will be a universalism of *encounter* and *converse;* converse conducted in an atmosphere of respect on either part, respect for what constitutes the originality and singularity of the great experiences mankind has undergone, those that lie at the very wellhead of the great human cultures, the great works of art, the great men of the world. All true converse consists in a common endeavour with a view to mutual comprehension and enrichment, that is, to learn *from* one another and give *to* one another. It is in the communion and communication of minds that individual and one-sided outlooks are transcended and synthesis is achieved. So we may say that it is in converse with other men that truth comes to light and values emerge.

What accounts for this is the fact that man is a creature possessing *speech,* and all authentic speech implies *conversation.* An animal does not speak for it has nothing to say, nothing to make others see, and it is has nothing to say because, being shut off from the mystery of the world and itself, it is incapable of either *apprehending* or *comprehending.* What distinguishes us from the beast is our inexhaustible capacity to apprehend reality, to accept its challenge, to tune in to it, and afterwards make others see what we have accepted as true and valid. That is precisely our meaning in declaring that man is essentially a creature of speech, *Logos* in the double sense of comprehending and expressing, as for the Greeks. To speak is

not just to make vocal sounds but to have something to express having first taken it in.

In this sense all true speech is conversation, mutual recognition and mutual exchange; which proves once more that conversation is the sole way to authentic universalism.

We shall now enquire in what measure the unification of the world can promote the emergence of true universalism, and in what conditions. Then we shall examine the place of christian universalism in a world in process of unifying, and the part it can play.

§ 2. *The unification of our planet*

What is involved when we say the world is becoming one, and that this is the crucial issue of our age ? Unification is not easy to define. It is not so much a set and rigid state of affairs as a work to be constantly furthered. Nor is it all of a piece but the effect of a long series of unifying factors, which we can consider in three distinct categories.

1) First comes whatever contributes to the *progressive abolishing of distance, physical and geographical.* Of course here we are mainly concerned with technical factors. The time is approaching when the world will, so to say, be no more than a large village, easily and quickly crossed. Already indeed newspapers, radio and television daily carry us to the far corners of the earth and put us in presence of the outstanding events of the day. As contemporary philosophy puts it, our 'being with...' will soon have no limits, and for the first time since man's appearance on earth, what used to be called the human species will take on the form of a true community, that is, an immense multitude living their life in common.

Henceforth, as a global and universal entity, the human race as such, will be the subject of history and its dramatis personae: 'all the world's a stage'. It is no longer a mere manner of speaking to talk of a universal history, and history itself is no longer what it always was until now — a set of chapters dealing with a given region or continent: the history of the West, of India, of China, of the African peoples. All modern

man's great and worthwhile achievements are done on a world scale: scientific work has to become international if it is not to mark time; a national economy attempting to develop apart from world economy proves less and less viable and conceivable; wars are now world-wars and peace is not thinkable but as inter-continental, that is, universal peace.

2) But it is not only physical frontiers that are gradually disappearing. More important still is the *progressive abolishing of social barriers and distances.*

True, equality is far from being an accomplished fact, nevertheless it is on the horizon of our good intentions, like an ideal that has emerged from the region of dreams and become a plan that will shortly be realized. If international life is at the moment passing through a state of unprecedented crisis, this is due among other things to that indomitable will for justice and freedom for all which strikes across our world and rouses individuals and nations.

It is a crisis for humanity when a given situation inherited from the past comes into conflict with new opportunities that open new horizons and challenge humanity to advance towards a new future.

The situation as given. First there is the fact that the great majority of the human race has not even got the necessary minimum to keep itself alive and lead a life worthy of man. According to the report presented by R. Scheyven to the UNO General Assembly, 'Fifty-nine and a half percent of the population of the world is under-nourished today... Man's average expectation of life is 27 years in India, whereas it is up to 68 years in Sweden; in some countries, eighty percent are illiterate; the average income in Indonesia is 25 dollars, whereas the USA citizen disposes of 1.800 dollars per annum. And what is so despairing about this state of poverty and what makes it so tragic, is the fact that world population is increasing by eighty thousand a day, that is, thirty million a year, mostly in the poor countries' ([1]). But that is not all. Such economic

([1]) SCHEYVEN, R., *Le grand problème de l'heure: Aider les pays sous-développés* (The great problem of the hour: help for the underdeveloped countries). Brussels, 1954.

disparities are the cause of no less appalling social disparities: it cannot be denied that, given the present structure of world economy, the wealth of the few is based on the poverty of the masses. If we live so well in Europe, it is partly because the Near East which provides us with oil is among the poorer and less developed regions. And a rapid glance at the map of Africa will furnish many more examples. We might as well admit outright that slavery has still not been eliminated from the earth.

Such in broad outline is the situation as given, and as we said, it conflicts with the *new opportunities* the world now offers. For we do not believe that the present situation can last indefinitely, in view of recent scientific and technical advances. We have the right to expect that the first century of the atomic era will do more to raise the standard of living of the great masses of the people than the whole of the past. What is happening at the moment is that man has awoken to the fact that the possibilities of modern technical production and organization are sufficient to ensure a more human existence to humanity as a whole, one that is freer and worthier of man in a relatively short time. It is no longer utopian to believe that the great densities of population and disinherited peoples in Africa and the East could indeed benefit in their turn from the enormous advances that have been made in matters of hygiene, living conditions, basic teaching and education.

Thus a new ideal of justice has come into being, one more in harmony with the opportunities of the present-day world, whether technical, economic or cultural. Naturally the working classes, the poorer nations and the colonized countries are aware of being more than anyone else concerned in the advent of this new ideal of equity and equality. The rebellion of the masses is the hallmark of our times: the rousing of the peoples of the East, Africa and Latin America is but second phase in the struggle that began in the West during the last century with the revolt of the proletariat.

A christian more than anyone else, having received from Christ the message of universal love among men, without distinction of race or colour or social standing, should natural-

ly, at such a time as this, feel himself in living communion with the immense masses of the poor in their quest for justice and freedom. If this faith is not merely a wishy-washy label but is a challenge and a responsibility, he is bound to place himself at the forefront of the social struggle that marks our time.

3) Now we come to a third unifying factor: *the encounter of men and cultures* in the world of tomorrow.

It is indeed of importance to note that we have said so far concerns humanity's future *living conditions* rather than life itself. To reduce geographical distances is to make more space available to the human race, but space remains to be filled. In suppressing social barriers we create a new economic, social and political situation more conducive to the practical working-out of the different freedoms; but this freeing of the freedoms will not, properly speaking, be produced by these changes in the way snow is produced by a fall in the clouds' temperature: better living conditions are certainly conducive to the realization of a better life, but they do not automatically produce it; they are but means and everything depends on the use that is made of them, whether for good or bad.

Thus we may say that the unification of the world as we have so far defined it remains ambiguous, even ambivalent. It may bring people closer together, but it could easily have the opposite effect. It is a remarkable thing, but everybody knows everyone else in our old country villages, in spite of difficulties of communication, whereas in the great blocks of our modern towns people don't even know immediate neighbours. Greater economic equality will not necessarily engender more mutual respect or more true communion of minds. So the multiplication of contacts between individuals and nations, though they may bring enrichment, may equally bring impoverishment: all too often at our great international congresses it happens that they lose in quality what they gain in numbers. Indeed it is difficult for man to live on a world-wide scale, for in process of unifying the world becomes so big that ultimately it transgresses the human measure.

To multiply cultural opportunities while safeguarding the

life of the spirit, to promote the unity of the world without harm to the diversity and singularity of civilizations, such is the difficult problem that faces tomorrow. All the peaks of human achievement, and equally all the great works of man that are landmarks in his history, have their origin in some inexhaustibly vital human experience, and that is why they all have something to say to us. In fact, each has its own native genius: its own attuned awareness of one or another of the basic human values; for instance, among the Greeks of the classical period, the sence of unity, harmony, proportion; or among the Chinese the veneration of ancestors and family virtues; among certain primitive civilizations the cult of homeland and heroes; in India the mystical love of all creatures as the reflection of God. It would be an immense loss for humanity if the unifying of our planet merely resulted in standardizing ideas and merging together different modes of thought and creative activity, and even perhaps one day replacing the inexhaustible riches of our diverse civilizations by some cultural esperanto. It is in *spoken intercourse and in a mutual respect for the profound experiences* mankind has undergone that the unity of the world will have to come about, and that is how the humanity of tomorrow will achieve its authentic universalism.

But surely christianity itself, serving as it does the word and the charity of God which embrace the universality of the creature, is essentially speech and intercourse.

§ 3 *Christian universalism*

In essence and in function christianity is universal in a unique and transcendent way. After all, it has its origin in God and proposes to lead men to God, the universal principle and ultimate end of all things; thus the universality of christianity outstrips in potential and scope any form whatever of human universalism, whether we are concerned with the universality of a work of art, or of a philosophical idea, or of the most genuine kind of human intercourse. And to convey this transcendence of christian universalism, a tradition twenty centuries old uses the consecrated word *catholic*.

Let us now examine what is meant by *catholic*. What is the nature of this new form of universality which is christianity's mission to make manifest ?

First we observe that the word *christianity*, like *christian religion*, can mean two things: either the *christian mystery*, to which we adhere by faith, or else the living community of the faithful. If the christian mystery is of its nature universal, originating in the mystery of God himself and his redeeming love, christianity as the communion of the faithful, as religion lived by christians, will be universal above all through its *mission* and *faithfulness*.

Christianity is not first and foremost an ideology, a conception of the world, but the very mystery of God himself and of his saving grace, rendered manifest in the person of the incarnate Word, who died and rose from the dead, and in the outpouring of God's Spirit. The Word of God is 'of God' in two senses: it comes from God and has God as its object: manifesting God, speaking of God: 'qui est in sinu Patris, ipse enarravit» (John 1, 18). The same is true of God's Spirit, sent by God in order to free us for the working of the Word, and to communicate to us the love of God and the love of men in God. That is why christianity, as an irruption of God into history, is fundamentally the mystery of God himself becoming God-with-us-and-for-us (Emmanuel): for us becoming Word and Love. It is thus evident that as the mystery of God revealing himself to the world, 'so that God may be all in all' (ut Deus sit omnia in omnibus, I. Cor. 15, 28), christianity possesses an absolutely unique and incomparable universality. It is, so to say, three-dimensional:

Through his Word and his Love God speaks *to all men* without exception, 'ex omni tribu et natione'.

But he also speaks *to the whole of man:* nothing in man can elude the purifying and sanctifying Word of God for it is man as a whole, body and soul, with all his joys and sorrows, his heart and his mind, who is to harken to the divine Word so that he may participate in the mystery of sonship with the beloved Son of God, dead and risen: 'ut sit Ipse primogenitus in multis fratribus' (Rom. 8, 29).

Finally, and this is as it were the third dimension, devolving from the other two, *every* christian is called to enter into God's universal plan for the world, to bear the message of the Word of God to the far ends of the earth, and to bring into the world the universal love of all men as brothers, without exception. 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself'. Neighbour can mean child and old man, rich and poor, fellow-countryman and foreigner, friend and foe. For Christ, and in Christ, there are no more distances, neither geographical, racial, cultural or social ones.

Therefore the universality of christianity indeed belongs to the order of *speech,* of *intercourse* conducted in all due respect and love. But this intercourse transcends all human conversation. It draws its life from the almighty Word and universal Love of the living God, principle and end of all things. That is why the christian mystery is called a mystery of peace: it is like the very peace of God which comes down from on high to gather *all* men to God's Word so that they may participate in the life and freedom of God.

Now it is precisely this mystery of Peace that the living communion of christians has to make manifest and in some sort inaugurate, making it present in the midst of this world by *faithfulness* to the Word of God and the pacifying action of God's Spirit. That is why the living community of the christian is itself part of the christian mystery: it is as it were the *place* where God does his work here below, where his *Word* speaks to successive generations and where his Love becomes apparent to all. That is what the Scriptures mean: the christians constitute 'God's new people', the 'new Israel', the 'New Jerusalem' 'God's tabernacle among men', the 'Bride of the Word', his faithful and beloved partner, in a word 'God's true Church'. So the christian Church is not something lifeless but the living community of the faithful, God's new people called into existence by the Word of God and gathered around that Word. So that if the Church's catholicity is indeed a gift, a 'property' bestowed on it from above, it is also and equally a *mission, a task* to be accomplished, a *vocation of sanctity* and *faithfulness.* Here, as it is, to *serve* the mystery of the Word and of God's universal

Love, the Church has a mission to render this mystery present in the world, with an effective and evident presence (for a presence that is not shown is an incompletely valid one). And so, once more, christian catholicity does not at all signify that the Church's mission is to dominate the world and place itself at the head of the nations, but that by the witness of its faithfulness to God's Word it shall appear in the world as *word and sign of God* among the nations. Indeed, *word* implies *speech,* and speech implies *intercourse* and *mutual respect.* Hence the problem of the encounter of christian universalism and human universalism.

§ 4. *The encounter of christian and human universalism.*

It is not without good reason that we chose the word *encounter.* If the universalism of the christian faith goes beyond all human and temporal universalism, it is especially important not to confuse these two forms of the universal, nor to let them fuse. In fusion — and all confusion is a kind of fusion — the elements lose their specific quality and vanish in the new-made unit: there is neither oxygen nor hydrogen when water appears. The phenomenon of encounter occurs in a different world, a subjective world, and is something quite different. To encounter someone is to recognize his otherness and respect it, thus favouring a mutual exchange. True encounter is of the same order as intercourse, in the wider sense we have given it, even though. It may consist merely of a smile or a glance or a word of comfort.

But to confuse the order of the temporal and the order of religious faith is the constant temptation of christians and non-christians alike.

There are still many christians who dream of a new medieval age. Instinctively they think of the 'universal kingship of Christ' as a prolongation of the christian middle ages with their characteristic subordination of temporal to spiritual. They would find it quite natural to have the Pope presiding over the Assembly of the United Nations and settling international

conflicts as in the sixteenth century, when Spain and Portugal were quarrelling over the new world. They are fond of saying that salvation and peace can only come to the world from the Church, but forget to tell us what salvation and what peace they have in mind: eternal salvation and the 'pax Dei quae exsuperat omnem sensum', or healthy economic conditions, social progress and peace among the great powers.

This confusion of temporal and religious, though often unconscious and made in good faith, is harmful to religion. For a christian who dreams of a 'christian State' or a 'christian world' or an 'international christian order' can hardly feel at ease in the world of today. Instead of cooperating with all men of good will to inaugurate a better world, one more worthy of man, he tends to organize a little world apart, on the margin of the real one, and ultimately opposed to it, for thesis engenders antithesis. Here we have two separate worlds, two sociological realities, powerfully constructed but closed. It is then difficult to speak of a real *presence* of the faith *in the midst* of the world. By dint of protecting those who are within, the Church no longer reaches the multitude of those who are outside, and christianity, as God's word speaking to every man who comes into this world, loses the radiance of its universality.

But the confusion of the temporal and faith occurs among non-christians too. Certain forms of contemporary atheism are nothing but religions turned inside out, widely exploiting for temporal ends the sense of holiness that resides in man. Auguste Comte, the father of positivism, believed he was founding a new religion, a religion of humanity, and as for marxist communism, to many it stands for a new faith and a new absolute, the absolute of History.

This exclusively temporal and terrestrial universalism is a danger not only to religious faith — as is all too evident — but also to a genuinely human universalism, for in divinizing nature or history, or society, we run the risk of turning man into a piece of nature, or reducing him to a mere function of a collectivity: till finally the dignity of the human person is measured by his usefulness to society.

For a true encounter to take place, it is evidently not enough just to avoid confusing the order of the temporal and religious faith. What we have said so far concerns rather the negative conditions of the encounter. Positively, three things are necessary:

1) First, a continual return of the faith itself to original sources. As Péguy said, 'The revolution is an appeal from a less perfect tradition to a more perfect tradition, it is a return to original sources'. Or as we were saying just now, an act of faithfulness. Only faithfulness to the faith of the Gospel, the Acts of the Apostles, St Paul, can in our day, as in the past, give force and vigour to christianity and cause it to appear in the world in all the radiance of its catholicity. Christianity and Western thought are two things which must be clearly distinguished from one another. Christianity is neither Eastern nor Western. Its universality is that of the Word of God, speaking of and from God, and that is why it is there to sanctify both East and West.

2) However, returning to the source, returning to the purity of the faith, is not synonymous with 'disincarnation'. Faith in God and in what lies beyond this life is not, for us christians, an alibi, as atheism would have it. The christian faith is inseparable from a sincere and universal love of our brothers, and thus a new motive for intensely loving our job as man and taking upon ourselves the troubles of all men. 'Nihil humani mihi alienum puto', nothing of all that is human can leave us indifferent.

It ought to be a matter of great concern to us that a new world is being born; first, because this world is also *our* world — a christian is a man like any other — then because, as christians, we have to be the messengers and the bearers of evangelical love, whose property it is to exclude no one while conferring on each an infinite dignity. The incomparable originality of the christian message, as a message of love, is that it is alone in achieving the difficult synthesis of the universal and the particular. This being so, it is evident, as Cardinal Suhard put it, that 'it would be the greatest mistake of twenti-

eth-century christians to let this world be made and become unified without them' ([2]).

3) But the duty of presence-in-the-world incumbent on us at this moment more than ever before, does not mean that we have a ready-made solution for the great problems of the day, nor that we are capable of solving these problems alone. The duty of presence is a duty of cooperation with all men of good will, believers or unbelievers. The christian faith does not confer on us any certificate of competence nor any special qualification for dealing with temporal matters. In this sphere we have to study and work like everyone else and with everyone else. What is called 'the social teaching of the Church' is not a magic chest containing the solution to the great problems of our century, whether economic, demographic, national or international; rather it is what might be called a 'social ethic'. The main characteristic of this ethic is a concern for the human person, and for all the values necessary for an authentic and effective recognition of the human person: reverence for life and death, an affirmation of the radical equality of all men, a love of truth and veracity, a very exalted conception of freedom, understood not as anarchy of the instincts but as the practice of responsibility, integrity, decency, courtesy in human relations, moderation, a horror of fanaticism, faithfulness in love and a due regard for the sanctity of the family, the priority of work over money, and so on. What St Paul called the fruits of the Spirit: 'love, joy, peace, patience, kindness, generosity, forebearance, gentleness, faith, courtesy, self-control' (Gal. 5, 22-3; also I. Cor. 13 the hymn of charity), are certainly gifts from on high, the work of the Spirit in us, but also human values of inestimable price. They constitute the best safeguard of life in common and of true universalism. It is through the existential richness of its ethic that the christian religion influences culture and social life. It is also true that the expression 'the Church's social doctrine' is, like all human language, ambiguous — especially for non-christians who are not familiar with christian terminology. To interpret it as

([2]) *Essor ou déclin de l'Église* (Rise or decline of the Church).

though it were a social technique, or indeed a plan for a 'christian State', or an 'international christian order', is to mask the true meaning and considerably diminish its universal scope, and in particular its validity for our own time, of which a main issue is the unifying of the planet. It is urgently necessary to re-think in terms of today the relations of the temporal to the faith, in order that the encounter of christian universalism with human universalism may bear its whole fruit: as much for the benefit of the faith as for that of tomorrow's humanism.

Translated by R. M. Bethell

ANDRÉ RÉTIF

Events and Trends

RELIGION AND CULTURES

The object of this survey is to study the relations between religion and civilisations. But, as the subject is obviously so vast, we shall confine ourselves to the Christian religion. One approach to the problem might possibly be made from the standpoint of the civilising influence of the Christian religion; but this must be left to a future article. In this survey we shall limit ourselves to considering the ideas and publications which concern relations between Christianity and the civilisations now spread out over the face of the earth. It is thus a part of missionary theology with which we shall be dealing here.

Historically, the word civilisation has been used in two senses: the normative sense, which was the first and indicated the opposite to barbarism; and secondly the descriptive sense which became the more current one with the conquests of history and ethnology. We shall employ the word rather in its second sense, meaning by civilisation the totality of customs, morals, beliefs and techniques, in a word the conditions of collective life in a particular environment. We shall base our study as a whole on four principles.

1. *There exist different civilisations or forms of human society which have each their own particular value.*

Without wishing to enter here into linguistic controversies or subtle distinctions, we shall take the word civilisation in its widest sense, meaning not only the material framework of life, but also the cultural, humanist and religious aspects. The first thing we find is the existence and value of different civilisations, born of history and geography, and the products also of philos-

ophies and predominant currents of thought: for example, Western, Indian, Chinese, Arabic, Slavic, Marxist, African and technical civilisations, etc. In each one of these civilisations appreciable values are found to a greater or lesser degree: a sense of family and of social hierarchy; the concept of relations between men, and with nature and God; a liking for peace, silence, contemplation, art, etc.

Hence the traditional attitude of the Church, which is one of respect and sympathy for everything which is neither vicious nor false. A precise formulation of this attitude is to be found in the famous instruction of 1659, addressed by the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith to the first Vicars Apostolic in the Far East, which might be called the Charter of the modern missions (1). After a long eclipse, this document was to be frequently quoted and enlarged upon in the great Pontifical statements of the twentieth century on the missions: for example, in *Summi Pontificatus, Evangelii praecones,* etc. (2). When receiving ambassadors of various countries, the Pope has taken pleasure in praising highly their national cultural heritages; and he has done the same in the messages he has addressed to the various nations on many occasions (3). This principle of respect is called by Pope Pius XII in *Summi Pontificatus* the star which guides the universal apostolate of the Church. We may recall some of the features singled out by Pope Pius XII: the rich spiritual heritage of the Indian people, the sincerity of their religious feeling, the respect which is paid to it and the deep realisation of man's dependence on the divine, and the firm faith in the just superiority of spirit over matter; the five pillars of the *Pantjasila* (Indonesia): faith in the existence of an almighty God, in humanity, in the nation,

(1) See «*Le Siège Apostolique et les Missions*». Paris-Lyon, Propagation de la Foi, pp. 9-20. Also *Etudes,* January 1959.

(2) See *le Siège Apostolique et les Missions.* Cf. the index under words such as civilisation, culture, etc.

(3) See the index of the above work under words such as Africa, China, Indonesia, Japan, etc. Pax Christi have published a series of excellent brochures on the various civilisations under the general title of *Rencontre des Cultures, Rencontre des Hommes.*

in democracy and social justice; and in the case of Japan, gravity enhanced by amiability, tenacity in action and courage in suffering, scrupulous devotion to duty and the common good, an admirable inclination to the liberal arts, and a deep, tender devotion to the family.

2. *Christianity is not tied to one particular civilisation, but it transcends all.* Historically of course Christianity took root first of all in Hebrew civilisation, then in the Graeco-Latin, and it has made use of certain of their habits of thought and their systems in order to express itself. But Christianity is a divine ferment and not a human civilisation. It belongs to the order of charity and not to the order of human intellect. In itself supernatural and heavenly, it is useful for natural and earthly civilisations, but is not bounded by them or tied to them. There is not and there never has been one single «Christian» civilisation, but many of them: for example, that of the Middle Ages, of the Spanish golden age, of the French «Grand Siècle», etc. There may likewise be others, and yet no civilisation will ever be perfectly Christian, for it will always have to compound with sin.

This was one of the most striking and one of the most elaborated doctrines in the teaching of Pope Pius XII. There is an abundance of statements on this point which are clear, indisputable and definitive. Here are a few among the most explicit. 'The missionary is an apostle of Jesus Christ. His mission is not to transplant any particular European civilisation in a mission land, but to prepare the people, who sometimes enjoy a culture already a thousand years old, to receive and assimilate the elements of Christian life and morals which of their nature must harmonize naturally and easily with every healthy civilisation, and which confer on it the perfect capacity and power of assuring and guaranteeing the dignity and happiness of man' (24 June 1944). The Christmas message of 1945 and the discourse to the new cardinals of February, 1946, give a striking presentation of the supra-national and the supra-cultural Church. 'The Church belongs to the East as well as to the West. It is not tied to any particular culture; it finds itself at home among all who respect the commandments of God. Everything

which is compatible with human nature — the gift of God — everything which is good or rightly human is permitted by the Church, is fostered, ennobled and sanctified by the Church'. (To the Indian Catholics, 31 December 1952). The same declarations were made to the Congress of Historical Sciences, 7 September 1955, to the Institutes of Archaeology, 9 May 1956, etc. ([4]).

'Christianity is incommensurable with any civilisation, however pure and perfect the latter may be. It dominates it, it overwhelms it, it judges it from its own lofty eminence, and it is truly both the judgment and the judge of any civilisation in which it exists, and it decides what in that civilisation can live and what must die... The whole of history is the judgment of civilisations... by Christianity. Absolutely and for ever, Christianity transcends all civilisations, whether our own civilisation or what we are accustomed to call a Christian civilisation in past ages' ([5]). On 30 January 1949, Pius XII said to the pupils of the secondary schools of Rome: 'If one day — this is no more than a hypothesis — all the buildings of Rome were to collapse and with them the Vatican Basilica, the Church would not for that reason collapse. The Rome which is eternal in a Christian and supernatural sense, is superior to historical Rome. The nature and truth of eternal Rome are independent of the Rome of history'. There is no need for an Arab or an Indian to Europeanize himself in order to become a Christian. In itself, Christianity transcends Europe and its civilisation and goes beyond them in the profound nature of its being, even though it utilises what is best in them.

3. *Christianity must take root in all civilisations, penetrating and saving them all.* In order to settle firmly and prosper everywhere, the Christian religion must cease to be alien and

([4]) There is a valuable collection of documents to be found in *Eglise Vivante,* 1958-6, and 1959-1 and in *Le Siège Apostolique,* pp. 356-366. See also in this review, December 1959, the present writer's article: *The International character of Pope Pius XII's Missionary Teaching,* pp. 197-214.

([5]) A. Retif, *Noirs, jaunes, blancs,* XXVth National Congress of Catholic students. Montpellier, Fédération Française des Etudiants Catholiques, 1949, p. 27.

become indigenous. It must therefore assimilate and be itself assimilated without losing anything of its purity or profound unity. Not only will it enrich, purify and bring progress to individual civilisations, but it will enrich itself by the fact that the new Christian groups will bring out in new relief one or other aspect of the deposit of Revelation. This essential deposit cannot be enriched or completed by the contributions of pagan civilisations, since it is the total and perfect gift of God to man. It contains in itself all religious riches, all possible attitudes of the religious soul, but this treasure is far from having been perfectly exploited or exhausted by the centuries and Christan societies of the past. Other peoples will come, rich in religious traditions and pagan philosophies, who will bring out aspects of our faith which are as yet badly expressed or imperfectly realised. Thus for example the worship of the divine life, the value of sacraments and outward bodily gestures among coloured peoples, union with God among Indians, Christian faithfulness in Japan, the filial piety of the Chinese, and among many peoples a new feeling for silence and contemplation... Features, still unperceived, of the personality of Christ, of the Blessed Virgin, and of the Mystical Body; new forms of prayer, of piety, of holiness, of liturgy, music and Christian art... Thus for instance Dr Wu translates the 'Word' in St John's prologue by the Chinese expression *Tao,* meaning way, principle, rhythm, cause, etc.; Fr. Tempels, a Belgian Franciscan, studies *Bantu Philosophy* (Présence Africaine) and draws the main lines of a Bantu system of catechetics; and coloured peoples are inventing dances and laments for the Way of the Cross. Père Charles had already evoked the prospect of all this diverse and Catholic richness of the Church of tomorrow.

Many statements and acts of the contemporary Church could be adduced in confirmation of this thesis: for example, the development of a native clergy and episcopate, the creation of coloured cardinals, the permissions granted for the adaptation and more flexible use of the liturgy. We shall recall only a few of the more important and characteristic statements and decisions. The encyclical *Mediator Dei* (1947) noted that the liturgy can and must be renewed and adapted. In Rome during the Holy

Year of 1950 an international exhibition of religious art was held and its lessons were underlined in *Evangelii praecones* (1951). *Musicae sacrae disciplina* (1955) encouraged the use of native words and melodies in church music. On 8 December 1959, Pope John XXIII addressed a message to the assembly of Pax Romana in Manila. It is a brief message, but one of great signification: 'Here is another subject for reflexion. By its nature Catholicism is world-wide, universal. In the course of centuries, the Gospel, starting from the Near East, has succeeded in inspiring living forms of culture, which continue to convey pure religious, moral and intellectual values, of which it would be a great mistake to deprive oneself. And to you today falls in part the important task of translating likewise this message of truth and love in forms appropriate to the oriental soul. Be assured that We reckon this work of capital importance for the future of Catholicism' ([6]). Note that the Pope is giving this word of command to laymen.

On 1 April 1959, Pope John XXIII received the coloured writers and artists on the occasion of their second congress, and told them: 'The Church, as you know, does not identify itself with any particular culture, not even with the culture of the West, with which it has been so closely bound up through a great extent of its history. For the true mission of the Church is of a different order: the order of man's religious salvation. But the Church, full of the vigour of youth which is constantly being renewed by the breath of the Holy Spirit, is always ready to recognize, welcome and even foster everything which does honour to the mind and heart of man on other shores of the world besides this Mediterranean basin which was the providential cradle of Christianity'.

The statement which has undoubtedly the greatest weight and importance is the following, taken from the encyclical *Princeps pastorum:* 'It is essential to give (to the seminarists in mission countries) not only the complete and solid traditional formation in doctrine, but also to open and sharpen their minds in such a manner that they will be able to appreciate

([6]) *Documentation Catholique.* 21 February 1960, col. 218.

rightly their own culture and country, especially with regard to what touches on philosophy and theology, as well as the particular connexions of these with the Christian religion'. 'It seems therefore', says a commentator, 'according to this last sentence, that the Pope has in mind not the philosophy and theology of the seminary (as might be inferred from the French translation), but the philosophical and religious elements of the local native culture. In other words, seminarists must be given an initiation into the components of this culture, and into the relations between them and the Christian religion. This is a vast domain, and rich in applications of every sort. It is also a new domain, almost wholly unexplored and unworked' ([7]).

4. *Hence the necessity for the missionary and the Christian layman to prepare themselves to understand and to like civilisations other than their own.* This is the grave duty of adaptation. The mission land must become the missionary's second homeland. He must forget his country and his father's house, and make himself everything to everyone in order to win all to Jesus. As for the Christian layman, he must learn to love others and their differences, to desire unity in the Church and not uniformity. Each must be on his guard against exaggerated nationalism, racialism, the feeling of superiority, and the desire to dominate. Each must treat other nations as he would like his own to be treated, with the same tactfulness and the same charity, avoiding preconceived opinions, abusive generalities, and judgements which stress the evil rather than the good ([8]).

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In reviewing the publications on this question, we shall take first the Protestant publications and then the Catholic ones. To give a full review of the first ones would exceed the limits of this article; we can give only brief indications by way of samples. Good elementary bibliographies on Protestant missionary

([7]) *Les Missions Catholiques* (Paris), January 1961, p. 24.

([8]) Cf. the admirable statement of 1939, in *Le Siège Apostolique*, pp. 149-150, and the index under the word «adaptation». See also *Initiation à la Mission* by the present writer. Paris, Fleurus, 1960, pp. 157-163.

theology can be found in 'History's Lessons for Tomorrow's Mission' (World Student Christian Federation, 13 rue Calvin, Geneva. 1960. 300 pp.).

One of the most representative writers in this field is Hendrik Kraemer. His first large work, *The Christian Message in a Non-Christian World* dates from before the war (New York, 1938; new edition, London, 1956). Written at the request of the international Council of Missions for its meeting in Madras, it has been followed by another work, published in 1956, which gives depth and completeness to the first. The second one appeared simultaneously in English and in French, but under different titles. The title of the English version was *Religion and the Christian Faith,* London, Lutterworth Press, 1956. We shall say a few words about the French version ([9]).

This book, which is not so large or complete as the first, is the fruit of conferences given in Geneva in 1953-54, and replies to the criticisms provoked by the preceding work. Like the latter, the chief arguments of which are reaffirmed, it stresses the dialectical tension between the exclusive nature of Christianity and the manifest interest which it takes in pagan affairs. From this point of view, the author modifies in fact the absolute judgments of Barthian thought. Kraemer combines indeed with his learning as a theologian and an exegete his extensive experience as a missionary. There are three sections in the book: some observations on the study of religious — a critical examination of the various theological attempts to treat the problem of various religions — and biblical evidence on the problem of religion and religions. Religions are incommensurable with each other. To try and deal with them from one single viewpoint of philosophy or evolution, is to condemn oneself to missing the individual value and structure of each. Theological attempts to explain this problem were vitiated by rationalism until the time of the Reformation. The bible enables us to reply with dialectical matter to the question whether different religions are meeting-points between God and man. Furthermore,

([9]) H. Kraemer, *La Foi Chrétienne et les Religions Non-Chrétiennes.* Neuchâtel, Delachaux, 1956, 172 p.

the realism of the bible is not opposed to the liberty of the Christian or to a sane tolerance: 'Christianity, properly understood, is the sole guarantee of tolerance' (p. 164). This position, which in the final count is open to qualification, does not agree on all points with the Catholic position, which differs in its fundamental conception of nature and grace, but one cannot deny the force and penetration of mind with which it is expounded. Finally, the importance of missionary 'adaptation' is reduced. 'The sole criterion of every attempt at adaptation can only be the apostolic exigency to prepare the ways of Christ and to stimulate the birth of communities composed of Christians who do not limit themselves to imitating with a mechanical clumsiness the Christianity of the West, but who preserve in their religious life their own originality' ([10]).

This doctrine is applied to Indonesia in a work of astonishing ethnographical erudition ([11]). It gives a separate treatment of the various regions of Indonesia, and deals extensively and agreeably with the very special case of Bali, from which Christian missions were for a long time excluded. As the note of introduction remarks, this account brings out the two attitudes which are in appearance contradictory: an uncompromising Christocentric theology, and a patient, loving care for the spiritual life of this people to whom the Gospel has been brought. Catholic doctrine on the relations between nature and grace, on God's design for the world and the means which he has established for man to find God *through Jesus Christ,* apart from visible membership of the Church, would round off a position which is too uncompromising, and would acknowledge in non-Christian civilisations, cultures and religions the providential standing and value which they do not possess in Kraemer's scheme.

Another name must find a place here even though it belongs

([10]) A chapter of The Christian Message in a Non-Christian World, translated in *La Lumière des Nations.* Neuchâtel, Delachaux, 1944, p. 84. On Kraemer's second work see *Église Vivante,* 1957, pp. 145-147.

([11]) H. Kraemer, *From Missionfield to Independent Church.* London, Student, 1958, 186 p.

to a period which is not dealt with in this article, the name of Maurice Leenhardt (1878-1954), to whom *Le Monde Non-Chrétien* paid a great tribute ([12]). Missionary, ethnologist, religious sociologist and oceanographer, he was in the words of André Roux, 'a man endeavouring to understand men'. He might also be called 'a man endeavouring to understand cultures and civilisations'. Having at his disposal a faultless learning together with Christian charity, he sought to understand the Melanesians, their customs and their way of thinking, in order to implant Christianity. He understood that this ancient civilisation was experiencing a crisis due to the invasion of the technical and modern world, and he tried to make the New Caledonians Christians without uprooting them; on his return to France, he propagated his teaching and experience. In close contact with concrete realities, he was a pioneer in ethnographical analysis and exploration, but always with a missionary intention.

Under the title *La Mission et les Civilisations,* ([13]) Pastor André Roux gives us a synthesis which is of great interest. The statement of the problem demonstrates its double aspect: the transcendence of the Christian mission over civilisation, which the Gospel judges, and secondly the bond between the mission and the cultural domain, since the missionary and his native hearers belong to established cultures. Western civilisation has been stamped by Christianity, but it is not for all that a Christian civilisation. The missionary must approach the new civilisation with 'an attentive, exacting curiosity as well as a sympathy which is based on trust and respect'. Some principles of cultural action by the mission are proposed: the Word of God is able to regenerate all cultures, and the first cultural act is the preaching of the Gospel. To become a Christian, men do not have first to undergo a process of westernisation; the Word of

([12]) *Le Monde Non-Chrétien,* Jan.-March, 1955. *Protestantisme et Missions.* Paris, Je sers (Le Guide), 1951, had republished his Notes on the translation of the New Testament into a primitive language.

([13]) *Protestantisme et Missions.* Paris, Je sers (Le Guide) 1951, pp. 85-123. The whole volume consists of 180 p.

God is alone able to transform civilisations by begetting original creations. After giving practical applications, the writer concludes: 'the mission will act as a unifying force between men'. This exposition, as can be seen, is very close to Catholic thought, with some slight differences. It puts forward a doctrine that is elevated, moderate and wise, and whose value is manifest.

Much less satisfying is the essay by Arnold Toynbee ([14]), whose historical learning is undeniable, as well as his Christian education. Yet, is it possible to trust him when he affirms (p. 29) that the two notions of God in Judiac Christianity, namely a merciful God and a jealous God, are irreconcilable ? Or when he proposes to purge Christianity of the traditional Christian belief that Christianity is unique (pp. 111-112) ? This exclusiveness is for him the source and synonym of fanaticism and intolerance. Mr Toynbee should be advised to deepen the knowledge of his faith before talking about it...

Another collective work ([15]) charts the position of the Church, understood in its Protestant sense, in the world. We find little to glean here for our subject, both because of the technical and uncoordinated nature of the contributions (there is much about the West), and because of the brevity. We must note however under the name of J. Blauw, a threefold danger for the Church: sacralisation, secularisation and spiritualisation (by which he means isolation from the world, secondly its opposite, identification with the world, and thirdly a self-absorbed gnostic spirituality); whereas the three qualities which befit missionary work are that it should be sacred (in the sense of being intent on God's Kingdom, but not sacral), secular (in the sense of being in touch with the world, but not secularist), and thirdly truly spiritual (not spiritualist). There is, he says, an interdependence between the three formulas: in the world, for the world, but not of the world. And the emphasis is always on the independence of the message, its eschatological aspect, and God's

([14]) *Christianity among the Religions of the World.* London, Oxford Univ. Press, 1958, XII-116 p.

([15]) *The Missionary Church in East and West,* edited by Charles C. West and David M. Paton. London, S. C. M. Press, 1959, 133 p.

judgment on human things. All this is indisputable, but it is only partial and incomplete.

In greater depth and detail — and therefore more useful — is the essay of Pastor Roland de Pury ([16]). His key position seems to consist in the cultural aspect of custom and its moral aspect. His desire is, 'that the Churches of Africa should adopt and adapt and promote in their own ranks a manner of praising God and a style of life that are the African's own. But I have not seen much of this yet' (p. 30). On the other hand, he takes a vigorous stand against the maintenance of customs and relationships between people which are not compatible with the Gospel of love and liberty; and among the latter he emphatically places the lack of freedom in marriage and the dowry system. 'The will of God is not to be discussed as though it were possible to serve God *and* the clan any more than it is possible to serve God and Mammon' (p. 34). The 'divinity of the clan' is the modern idol. Pastor de Pury has thus established a distinction that is rigorous, exact, and rich in its practical bearings. Recalling some words of Père Daniélou, we may say in the same sense: there are things which must live, and things which must die.

For lack of further space we must bring to an end here this rapid survey of Protestant thought on the subject, but not without recalling that it is in fact far more complex and varied, as is shown in numerous articles ([17]). To expound Catholic thought, which will at once strike the reader as more optimistic and positive, although intransigent on fundamentals, we shall review first what concerns principles, and then what deals with their applications.

A general exposition of the subject, which is both searching

([16]) *Les Églises d'Afrique entre l'Évangile et la coutume*. Paris, Société des Missions Évangéliques, 1958, 95 p.

([17]) See also *Le Monde Non-Chrétien*, 1956, pp. 175-185 (Christianisme et culture africaine); 1957, pp. 48-59 (Valeurs chrétiennes et autochtones en Asie); 1960, pp. 121-134 (Manilal Parekh, le Ghandi chrétien). Also the contributions of Pastor Ekollo, of the Rev. Mbiti and the Rev. James, etc. at the Congrès de Présence Africaine, in *Présence Africaine*, June-November, 1956, February-May and August-November, 1959.

and thoughtful, is given us by Charles Couturier ([18]). Approaching the problem in his capacity as a sociologist and theologian, he concentrates on analysing 'the temporal interventions' (this is the title of his third chapter) of evangelisation. Even though Christianity is a divine ferment transcending every civilisation, its coming gives rise to the phenomenon of acculturation or the mixing of cultures, with all the shocks and reactions which such a phenomenon provokes. It unsettles (it is not the only one to do so) the pagan societies in varying degrees. 'However loving and enlightened missionary action may be, it cannot avoid making non- Christian cultures pass through a period of wavering and discontinuity which makes them totter on their foundations. Between the old order and the new there lies a period of instability that is full of perils'. (p. 83). Rupture and continuity, destruction and accomplishment thus mingle in the concrete. Peoples, like individuals, must pass through death in order to achieve life. The analysis is pursued with acute insight into the spheres of the family and education, and those of politics and sociology. This small book, which is illustrated with appropriate examples, and which passes wise and lucid judgments on the facts, must be studied with particular care. It is a model of its kind, and the best introduction to the question that there is.

In two volumes of the series «Je sais — Je crois» ([19]), we have endeavoured to bring together the scriptural, historical and present aspects of Catholicism, and at the same time the religious components of the modern world together with the resulting missionary duty for the Church. The catholicity of the Church is a fact as well as being a summons and a mission. To this catholicity the modern world offers plain defiance: it strives to set itself up outside Christianity, and the latter extends its influence only over a restricted portion of the material and intellectual world. Regarding the second work, an Italian reviewer

([18]) Ch. Couturier, *Mission de l'Église*. Paris, Edition de l'Orante, 1957, 142 p. There is a remarkably good bibliography at the back (English translation: Longman, 1959).

([19]) A. Rétif, *Catholicité*. Paris, Fayard, 1956, 122 p. Louis and André Rétif, *Pour une Église en état de mission*. Paris, Fayard, 1961, 144 p.

wrote recently: 'The volume has been reckoned by one of the preparatory commissions of the Second Vatican Council to be one of the best works submitted for the documentation of the religious situation in our time' ([20]). Both books can help in clarifying the situation that confronts the work of evangelisation in face of a material world which is depersonalised, dereligionised, technological, socialised, etc.

One of the preceding works was dedicated to Bishop Chappoulie, who has expounded with authority and nobility the Church's teaching on cultures and civilisations ([21]). It can all be found here: the assertion of the unity of the human race, of the value of civilisations and of the respect which one must pay them, the condemnation of racialism, the distinction between western civilisation and Christianity, between colonisation and Christian missions, the civilising role of the Church when it comes in contact with the 'uncivilised', and finally the Church and the unity of the world. One sentence will sum up this very rich and important teaching: '...As the Church continues to win new nations to the cause of Christ through its missionary expansion, and suceeds in incorporating them, with all the varied treasure of their ancestral endowments — the fruit of their own particular grace — together with their virtues and spiritual insights, it becomes a wonderful instrument for fostering fraternal understanding and unity between the peoples of the world, however diverse their civilisations may be now or they may wish them to remain in the future, and however distant from each other the roads they have travelled in order to meet one another in Christ some day and join in his limitless love of all men'. (II, p. 39)

Bishop Chappoulie had spoken at the Semaine des Intellectuels Catholiques in 1955 which took as its theme: L'Eglise et les Civilisations ([22]). Several of the topics for discussion are of in-

([20]) *In Fede e Civiltà* (Parma), May 1961, p. 353.

([21]) Henri CHAPPOULIE, *Luttes de l'Église*. Paris, Fleurus, 1957-'58, 2 vols: And see in the index the words: adaptation, civilisation, mission, etc.

([22]) *L'Église et les Civilisations*, a collective work. Paris, Horay, 1956, 255 p. See also the Semaine des intellectuels catholiques 1958: *La Conscience*

terest to us here: Truths and half-truths of Christian civilisation; the Church understands and rejects communism; the Church continues to 'go out to the barbarians'; the Church speaks every human language; the Church has no fear of a technological civilisation; the Church believes in the world's future. These titles were intentionally optimistic and positive, although the content of the addresses on the other hand was not lacking in a spirit of criticism. Let us select two out of the whole group of contributions. O. Lacombe upholds both 'the humble right of every tongue and every nation to see themselves accepted and welcomed by the Church, and the sovereign liberty of God who with wisdom carries out his merciful designs in the contingencies of history'. (p. 165). In other words, the history of salvation is irreversible and cannot be scored out, and yet every nation has the duty to become incorporated with Christ. Houang on his side wants to see the inferiority complex of Chinese Catholics disappear. 'We are absolutely sure that the Holy Father... will encourage every effort to Christianise Chinese thought as well as every attempt to deepen the understanding of Christianity by the Chinese soul. This is why we ask our Christian brothers of the West to have confidence in China' (p. 174).

Before coming to the detailed applications, let us review some books which directly establish the relationship of Christianity with numerous non-Christian religions or cultures. And first of all the classic work of Father Ohm who reverses the usual view: here Asia looks at western Christianity ([23]). It looks at it without any indulgence, and with a critical and severe eye. This is very beneficial for us, even though we regret that the gaze is fatally external, for here western Christianity is seen through the

Chrétienne et les Nationalismes. Paris, Horay, 1959, 286 p. Several numbers of *Recherches et Débats* (Fayard) have been devoted to this question.

([23]) Thomas Ohm, *Asiens Kritik am Abendländischen Christentum*. München, Kösel, 1948, 215 p. English edition: *Asia looks at Western Christianity*. London, Herder, 1959, 252 p. Italian edition. Brescia, Morcelliana, 1953, 207 p. A notice in the *Bulletin du Cercle St-Jean-Baptiste* (Paris, Oct.-Nov. 1960) forecasts a French translation. The famous book of Panikkar is a sharp illustration of Father Ohm's observations.

eyes of Asians, and most frequently those of non-Christians. The first requisite of any dialogue is comprehension of each other. This book tells us what causes scandal in our behaviour, what is expected of us, and the matters in which we must reform ourselves. Every missionary and every Christian will find profit in meditating on this book. He will gain from it the determination to bear better witness to his faith, to exhibit more manifestly poverty, joy, holiness... On the other hand, this work proves that the cultures and mentalities of Asia have not been penetrated by Christianity.

The problem with which we are dealing has often arisen in the *Semaine de Missiologie* at Louvain. The Semaines of 1958 and 1959 reverted to it, at least partially ([24]). The first discussed the attitude of the Church towards the national aspirations of new States. This nationalism is one of the elements of the present mentality and civilisation of overseas peoples. It takes on a different colouring according to the different regions and races. The picture, both in general and in particular, which is drawn by the Semaine de Missiologie helps us to a better understanding of the present mentality of these peoples, so that we do not look at them solely according to the categories of the past. Here again the Church sifts what is acceptable and good from what cannot be permitted. The same screening must be carried out in the non-Christian cultures. The Semaine of 1959 had the advantage of drawing sometimes the main lines of new Christian civilisations brought to life in India, Madagascar, Africa, etc. This is a valuable contribution to the framing of replies to the question raised in our present article, which are both positive and tested by experience. 'The Christian religion must eventually ensure a new integration with respect to each culture. Yet this cannot be done by means of one particularist religion tied to a single historical culture, but must be done by way of a universal religion'. (p. 36).

Louis Gardet, a well-known authority on Islam, has applied

([24]) *Aspirations nationales et missions*. Bruges-Paris, Desclée De Brouwer, 1958, 240 p. *Mission et cultures non-chrétiennes*. Bruges-Paris, Desclée De Brouwer, 1959, 334 p. Bibliographies.

his attention to the analysis of mystical experiences in non-Christian lands ([25]), a subject which had tempted Père Maréchal in his time. A profound and sympathetic knowledge, scientific objectivity, and a rigorous and penetrating mind enable Louis Gardet to distinguish between natural and supernatural mysticism, between mysticisms of the Self and those of God. Some readers may be of the opinion that his categories are too scholastic and too sharp, but no one will read these two works without profit. The first presents what is most valuable from the religious point of view in India, Judaism and Islam. The second work examines and compares the different mysticisms in accordance with the data of philosophy and psychology, and then cites with a few notes the finest passages on this subject ranging from the Upanishads to the Canticle of the Sun.

Msgr. Delacroix has brought out an enormous work which has quickly become a classic ([26]). We draw attention to it here because on the one hand it describes the efforts of Catholic missionaries through the centuries to make contacts with non-Christian civilisations (Ricci, Nobili, Aupiais, etc.) and on the other hand in the fourth volume it describes the renascence of non-Christian religions, analyses the relations of the Church with cultures, and studies the evolution of sacred art in modern missions. This last volume signposts the contemporary revolution in missionary methods and spirit: but the entire work forms a compendium which is unique of its kind, and which one will never grow tired of consulting.

From Spain comes another comprehensive work ([27]), of aston-

([25]) Louis Gardet, *Expériences mystiques en terres non-chrétiennes*. Paris, Alsatia, 1953, 182 p. *Thèmes et textes mystiques. Recherche de critère en mystique comparée*. Paris, 1958, 224 p. The first work has been translated into German (Alsatia, 1956). We should also like to mention the excellent work of Jacques Albert Cuttat, *La rencontre des religions*. Paris, Aubier, 1957, 200 p.

([26]) Simon Delacroix, *Histoire universelle des missions catholiques*. Paris, Gründ, 1956-59, 4 large volumes, illustrated.

([27]) Angel Santos Hernandez, *Adaptación misionera*. Bilbao, El siglo de las Misiones, Alameda de Mazarredo, 1958, 617 p. The Missiology Weeks at Burgos in 1957 and 1958 were devoted to the same topic and produced some important works, cf. *Misiones Extrangeras* (Burgos), July 1957 and Januar 1958 (this volume contains 394 p.).

ishing erudition and incalculable richness. The author has dealt with missionary adaptation in all its aspects: historical, cultural, philosophical, artistic, musical, canonical, liturgical, linguistic and clerical (the place and formation of native clergy); and finally of its present need. He has not remained satisfied with a theoretical exposition supported by a few random examples, but in each section he has studied for their own sake and in detail, some special cases (India, China, Indonesia, Japan, and Africa). Each chapter is followed by a monumental bibliography which makes the work a mine of information and marvellous instrument for further study. The chapters are not all of the same high quality, as the author cannot evidently have the same perfect competence in every branch. We have noticed several gaps and omissions, but this enormous work will be of great service to missiology, to the formation and instruction of missionaries, and to the dialogue between peoples. Moreover the author does not conceal either the difficulty of the operation nor the prudence with which it must be conducted.

It remains for us to look at some applications of this doctrine, first of all in the matter of the liturgy, and then in what concerns some civilisations and cultures. The bibliography provided by Father Santos Hernandez is sufficient to convince us that in a few pages we can do no more than skim the problem and choose a few significant examples. Yet these will bring home to us the magnitude and the difficulty of the task to be undertaken, which only generations of Christans and priests of various countries can bring to a successful conclusion.

One relatively simple field is that of the liturgy, and yet even here we have to advance cautiously, with a sound theology, and thinking with the Church. The essential document is provided for us by the work of the first international week of studies in missionary liturgy (Nijmegen, 1959) ([28]). The latter resulted

([28]) *Mission et Liturgie*. Bruges-Paris, Desclée De Brouwer, 1960, 248 p. Cf. *Rythmes du Monde* (Bruges), 1960-1, and *Église Vivante* (Louvain), January 1957 and January 1960, *Missie en Liturgie, Tijdschrift voor Liturgie*, 1960, 68 p. One of the promoters of missionary liturgy is Father Hofinger, an Australian Jesuit. Together with several colleagues, he has published *Pastorale liturgique en chrétienté missionnaire*. Brussels, Lumen Vitae, 1959,

from the special day held on this subject during the Liturgical Congress in Assisi in 1956. The week owed its value to the fact that both theoreticians and practitioners came together and exchanged fraternal views. For what concerns us here, it is noteworthy that the need for knowing native cultures and civilisations was emphasized, as well as the indispensable adaptation to the particular genius of each nation. The conclusion of the general report stresses this: 'In missionary countries the liturgy will achieve its perfect structure when it is both Christian in accordance with the full purity of divine Revelation, and indigenous according to the particular nature of each nation, and with respect for the experience of the Church's age-long tradition. 'The people of God must pray with their whole selves. The faith transforms from the inside the fruits which a people will bring into the bosom of the Church and of the great human family... The anthropological point of departure is the legitimacy and irreplaceable human value of the particular genius and culture of each people. God has himself willed these as multiform manifestations of his infinite perfection. They are not just bits of folklore; they constitute the specific contributions of these peoples to the general enrichment of mankind. We shall therefore gain by preserving them in all their purity and force' ([29]).

Here are some practical applications which have already been carried out or are being asked for: use of the native language in the prayers and music of the liturgy, a return to processions and public ceremonies (such as the old solemn entry of the King on the Feast of Corpus Christi), the Christianisation of the rites of tribal initiation, the use of the litanies and blessings in the Ritual, rearrangement of the dates of Rogation Days, a prudent integration of native customs in the rites of the sacraments, a more varied and public display of the baptismal ceremonial for catechumens, restoration of the diaconate and minor orders,

368 p. On the particular point of sacred music, see *Rythmes du Monde*, 1958-1; *Église Vivante*, 1957-5, etc.

([29]) Boniface Luykx, in *Église Vivante*, 1960, p. 37. *Mission et Liturgie*, p. 70.

revision of the Ritual, suppression of symbols in the liturgy which are no longer understood or able to be assimilated, a place of greater importance to be given to the dead and to ancestors, a more extensive use of the psalms and of the Bible in general...

On relations between the Church and civilisation in China, we have two witnesses, both of whom are converts — and this gives them greater value. John Wu ([30]) retraces his astounding spiritual odyssey, starting from the three traditional religions of China, and passing through Protestantism. The praise given to this work ([31]) in a Protestant review has all the greater worth: 'We lack, in French, Protestant books which bring us such spiritual riches from the Far East... They are of remarkable value, these interpretations by a Chinese Christian of the values of tradition, especially of the three religions, Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism'. Father Francis Houang of the Oratory has given us in his book only a selection of his reflexions on a problem which has always obsessed him: how to Christianise China in depth, how to give to Christianity, which is unique and eternal, a Chinese face ? As we read the book, we feel that here is a heart that has often been bruised and broken; the book is deeply moving in its heartfelt eloquence.

About Japan there could be much to say. Not only because evangelisation there has been more industrious and intelligent than perhaps any where else — and apparently more sterile — but because of the amazing success of new religions, and because of the original and unassimilable fund of native religious tradi-

([30]) John Wu, *Beyond East and West*. London Sheed and Ward, 1952, 364 p. *Par delà l'Est et l'Ouest*. Paris-Tournai, Casterman, 1954, 272 p.

([31]) *Le Monde Non-Chrétien*. Paris-Tournai, Casterman, 1956, p. 382. Dr. John Wu has also brought out with the same publishers *Le Carmel Intérieur*.

([32]) François Houang, *Ame chinoise et christianisme*. Paris-Tournai, Casterman, 1957, 150 p. For lack of space we can do no more than mention another spiritual journey: Paul Sih, *From Confucius to Christ*. New York, Sheed and Ward, 1959, 180 p.; French translation under the same title: Casterman, 1959. And by the same author, *Decision for China, Communism or Christianity*. Chicago, Regnery, 1959, 262 p.

tions. The work of Father van Straelen ([33]), in spite of its singular and highly personal ideas, helps us to reflect on this agonising paradox, on the obstacles created by the disunion among Christians, and on the reforms to be urgently promoted and the attitude to be adopted. Various numbers of *Rythmes du Monde* ([34]) will fill out the picture in a less vehement way perhaps, but more fully.

Evangelisation in India has borne more fruit and stimulated the same work of reflexion. Reflexion on the relations between Hindu and Christian ideas is to be found in a remarkable book which we owe to the present Superior General of the Missions Etrangères of Paris ([35]). There is also a study of the place of Christian monasticism and the deep penetration of the mystical mentality of India ([36]). There are also thoughts on the India of today, faced with the economic, political and social problems of the contemporary world ([37]).

By way of transition to Africa, let us note several congresses which have had occasion to reaffirm the Church's doctrine on the point with which we are dealing — congresses which have been held in Asia as well as in Africa. They have a particular significance because they stress the sentiments and desires of Christian laymen ([38]). The doctrine is still the same: Christians

([33]) Henry Van Straelen, *Où va le Japon?* Paris-Tournai, Casterman, 1960, 273 p.

([34]) *Rythmes du Monde,* (Bruges), 1959-3 (a double number) and 1960-2.

([35]) Maurice Queguiner, *Introduction à l'Hindouisme.* Paris, Ed. de l'Orante, 1958, 310 p.

([36]) Jules Monchanin, in colaboration with Dom Le Saux, *Ermites du Saccidânanda.* Paris-Tournai, Casterman, 1956, 208 p. and translated into English under the same title. Cf. also the special number of *Église Vivante,* 1958-1.

([37]) *Rythmes du Monde,* 1957-3 (a double number).

([38]) Congress of the Lay Apostolate, Manila, December 1955: *First Asian Meeting for the Apostolate of the Laity.* Milano, Tip. S. Giuseppe, 1956, 350 p. *Asia per Christo,* Edizione Missionaria Italiana, 1956, 236 p. A double congress of Pax Romana in Manila, January 1960, one on the influence of different religions, the other on the influence of Catholic intellectuals in Asia: *Unesco Pax Romana Meeting in Manila...* (Pax Romana, 173 pp.) Congress of the Lay Apostolate, Kisubi (Uganda), December 1953: *Actes de la*

must be sons of the Church and likewise active citizens of their own country. They must insert Christianity in the heart of their national structures, and orientate the civilisation of their peoples towards Christ. There must be acceptance, integration and Christianisation of local native values.

It remains for us to say a word about Africa. There is a book ([39]) which shows a thoughtful effort by African or West Indian priests to study the question of colour and its relationship with Christianity. This is a first essay, still timid, but significant and full of promise. The Africanisation of Christianity and the utilisation of things African in the Christian body is taking shape under our eyes. Another essay ([40]) has been received with great favour and deserves a larger distribution. It shows how African values (religious sentiment, language, art, life) can be taken up into the Christian life, liturgy and sacraments. Father Mosmans ([41]) gives a firm clear picture of what the apostolic and cultural action of the Church in Africa must be today. Pierre Colin ([42]) does the same for Madagascar.

We shall borrow the words of our conclusion from a speech of the former Director General of Unesco, Dr Luther Evans (Pax Romana, Vienna, September 1958): 'The Catholic world possesses a two-thousand year old experience of the meeting of diverse cultures in an identical ideal, or to speak more ac-

première rencontre des dirigeants d'apostolat des laïcs en terre africaine. Rome, roneoed, 172 p.

([39]) *Des prêtres noirs s'interrogent.* Paris, Le Cerf, 1956, 281 p. For similar statements see the Catholic contributions of Fathers Sastre, Ralibera, etc. at the congress of *Présence Africaine* and more generally in the review of the same name. Note also various articles in the *Revue du Clergé Africain,* (Léopoldville) on African theology, July 1960 and March 1961.

([40]) Xavier Seumois, *L'adaptation dans le culte.* Rome, 1957. Three brochures, printed privately.

([41]) Guy Mosmans, *L'Église à l'heure de l'Afrique.* Paris-Tournai, Casterman, 1961, 255 p.

([42]) Pierre Colin, *Aspects de l'âme malgache.* Paris, Ed. de l'Orante, 1959, 142 p. It has been impossible to find space for several useful works in this review: e.g. *Les Missionnaires et les religions non-chrétiennes.* Paris, Cathasia, 1953, 103 p. *Les morales non-chrétiennes,* id. 1955, 107 p. *Pierres d'attente, Rythmes du Monde,* 1960-3 (a double number); *La prière non-chrétienne,* id. 1959-1.

curately, an experience of a communion of diverse cultures in one faith, which at the same time respects them, stimulates them and transcends them... The history of the missions among all the peoples of the earth testifies to a prodigious effort of understanding, of adaptation, and at the same time of fidelity' ([43]).

(Translated by John Joyce S. J.)

([43]) The quotation is taken from an article by Père Bernard-Maître, which is full of wisdom and piquancy: *Nouvelle Revue de science Missionnaire,* (Switzerland), 1959, pp. 142-143.

A Document

PEACE — IS IT POSSIBLE ? *

by Fr. Dominique Pire, Nobel Peace Laureate

To enter at once upon the subject which is dear to me, and which is beyond all doubt the greatest problem for the world today — that of Peace — I should like to remind you of something which is for me a profound conviction: the human family is *one*. Truly, looking at it superficially, one could allow oneself to be obsessed by differences of nationality, language, religion, colour of skin, social position, culture, political opinion, etc., etc... Nevertheless — while our differences are emphasized to us — I firmly believe we are more alike than different, and I wish to speak to you of our resemblances.

The great thinker Pascal, speaking of sin, said: 'It is the distress of a great lord fallen'. That is to say, no matter how far he may have fallen, man is always a great lord. Teilhard de Chardin wrote this: 'An immense spiritual power lies asleep at the heart of our multitude and it will show forth only when we can see our way to break through the partitions of our egoisms'. Note the expression 'an immense spiritual power lies asleep'. A German writer (Ignaz Klug) has written: 'There is a great deal of good lying asleep in every man, and, without being developed, it is carried with him to the grave, because there has been nobody to believe in that good and to awaken it from its sleep'.

This common denominator, often asleep, is equally often misunderstood. Often one confuses our positive and true resemblance with a negative common denominator: our common fear. A year ago, while delivering his Christmas wishes to his people, the President of the United States, recounting one of

* Speech delivered at Tokyo in January 1961.

his voyages, said: 'I have spoken with kings, presidents, prime ministers, and also with men and women of humble condition in modest homes or in clay huts. Their common denominator lies in the certitude that...' Reading this quotation, my dear readers, I told myself that the President and I were of the same mind as to there being a universal and positive common denominator. But the statement of the President ends thus: 'their common denominator lies in the certitude that America will help to open a way leading to a just peace'. There I am no longer in agreement. Our resemblance is much more profound than that. The writer Ilya Ehrenbourg said once in Brussels: 'What interests me is that mankind is one. Everywhere people are like each other. If I go to Japan, the interesting thing is not to see that the Japanese sit upon the ground, but rather that they love, are jealous, are courageous, just like the Russians, just like all men. That is the essential'.

This common denominator, often asleep, often misunderstood, I firmly believe can be reawakened. Always on condition of taking into account realistically the obstacles which are found in the way of unity. These obstacles are of three kinds: real differences, prejudices and egoism.

Real differences exist; why deny them. It is sufficient to travel around the world or even to have a deep conversation with a human being to recognize this fact. As to prejudices, they are innumerable and much more hateful than the differences, which are natural. Would you like a small example ? In the exercise book of a little girl in North Africa I was able to read the following, under the title of 'The Tower of Mansourah': 'Last Thursday I had the opportunity to visit the ruins of Mansourah. What struck me most was the tower. This tower which from afar seems intact has one side completely broken down. Very puzzled, I asked my father why only one side was broken down. You see, he said, a Musulman group and a European group have worked together building the tower; the side in ruins is that built by the Europeans'. As for egoism, it influences us all. One of my friends, a high official in the World Health Office wrote to me: 'It is true, as you say, that our links are strengthened by working together. Unhappily it is true also

that these links are quickly destroyed if one has in mind only egotistical goals, one's personal advancement for example. How much evil can be done then to one's own fellow-workers.

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Find the unity we have lost, that appears to me to be the only way to Peace. Is it possible ? Before telling you exactly what I think on that subject, I am going to give you some examples. I had to speak recently to a European Congress of Rotary Clubs. Some days later, I received the following note from the Secretary General of the Istamboul Rotary Club: 'Six of us — Rotarians of Istamboul — heard you speak; of these three are Mussulman, one a Jew, one a Protestant and I myself am a Catholic. Believe me, we have all felt the same emotion, we have all felt the effect of the same love for our neighbour'.

A French friend who lives in Algeria wrote to me: 'To sum up my thought, I would not hesitate to affirm that there has never been a problem for me, even in the darkest hours of the Algerian crisis. I continued to visit family friends, to receive them; there was always a piece of arab bread sent by one or another of my neighbours. I know that this way of behaving did not please all of the Europeans. Happily I was so certain of being right that I have not changed my line of conduct'.

Peter Ustinov wrote: 'I am not an advocate for American intellectuals, nor Russian, nor British intellectuals. For true men of science there are no frontiers, but only progress; there are no nations, but only humanity'.

These few examples indicate already, before any demonstration, that it is possible to recover the unity of the human family. At the same time I would like to remark immediately that it is necessary to seek that unity without any utopianism, that is to say, not to hope for such a unification, that one day all men will seek together the same goals, using the same means. But we will have already attained a profound unity if we accept our differences with the deepest respect for one another.

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The important thing now is to say how it is possible to approach unity. I think two things are necessary: from the very first a spirit, and following on that the complete embodiment of that spirit.

The spirit, in the present case, or, if you will, the basic idea, is that of a dialogue between men: a fraternal dialogue. How can an internal dialogue be brought into being between men separated by this or that gap ? I think it is necessary to proceed by degrees. The first stage seems to me to be a work done in common by the two individuals or the two groups or the two blocks so separated. I have had personal experience of the unifying power contained in a work done together. Such a work also opens the way to the second stage of the dialogue, which consists in appreciating the nobility which inspires others than ourselves to do, like us and with us, this or that humanitarian work, to undertake this or that crusade. Generally we are mistaken about or misjudge those who do not think as we do. The second stage of the fraternal dialogue leads us, on the contrary, to appreciate the nobility of those who are different from us. There is a third stage of dialogue, a stage very difficult to reach and which you will meet very seldom on earth: it consists in being willing to discuss with others our own personal ideal and its foundations. I ask you to reflect on these extremely important stages, for which I now mention the conditions.

The first condition of a true dialogue between two men divided by a gap, is to arrive at a common language There are indeed, in the world, many 'dialogues of the deaf'. It is from them, most of the time, that are born the misunderstandings and miscomprehensions, general or particular. The words 'liberty' and 'democracy' and so many others would furnish, doubtless, the best example of confusion of language. And if it seems to us impossible to achieve eventually the suppression of the different meanings given to the same words, let us all try at the very least, to achieve an acceptance by all of the various meanings given to words.

Reflect on this and you will see very quickly how essential all of this is. The world has many quarrels over words.

The second condition of a true fraternal dialogue is mutual

sincerity, that is to say a war against the lie in all its forms.

The third condition and the most important, is a certain minimum of mutual confidence. In effect, distrust can only widen the gap between the individuals or the groups. I have had a capital conversation on this point with the most venerable of Nobel Peace Prize Winners, Dr. Albert Schweitzer. He said to me that the most important work for Peace consists in a battle against a priori distrust. For him the first contribution to the Peace of the world should be to fight against the a priori and systematic distrust which exists between the two groups which divide the world. A systematic distrust can only breed in return a systematic distrust. Nevertheless, dear friends, do not take as naivety this fight against a priori distrust. It seems to me that the perfect formula would be this 'an open heart and an open eye'. In fact, the formula 'closed heart and open eye' is that of naivety; while the formula 'open heart and open eye', that is to say prudence and goodness, is the perfect one. It is certainly not by thinking a priori that everything coming from the other group proceeds from bad intentions and machiavellian schemes that Peace will reign in the world.

The fourth and last condition for a fraternal dialogue is the fight against egoism. You know the definition of friendship given by Saint-Exupéry: 'To love is not for one to look towards another, but for both to look together towards the same goal'.

This spirit of fraternal dialogue must be embodied concretely. For this I see only one possibility: multiply contacts, build bridges, fill in the gaps ! And, as I have pointed out to you, begin by putting together, at a common work, those who are divided. I have succeeded, during twelve years of work in Europe, in uniting very different people, by doing work for the refugees.

The last example of this work done in common for the refugees is that of the sixth little village I have built for the refugees and which bears the name of Anne Frank. At this village both Germans and Allies have collaborated; protestants, Israelites, catholics, unbelievers, free-masons.

Since winning the Nobel Peace Prize I have preserved the same line of work: put different people to work together. I have begun by opening the 'International Youth Centre Mahatma

Gandhi'. I have taken Gandhi as patron of this Centre because he practised magnificently respect for others. You know that he was assassinated by a Hindu for inviting to prayer his mussulman brothers ! In this Gandhi Centre, I give to the young people of university age (without their being at the university necessarily) an education for Peace. Last summer I received young people of both sexes, aged 20 to 25 years, from 17 nations and 4 religions. All have returned to their own countries as my disciples for Peace and they are now building bridges there where they live. One sees a French woman working for Algerian children; a Belgian working for the blacks of Central Africa; one sees a Marrocan mussulman working with israelite students of his university, etc...

Besides this I have started a scheme of 'International Friendships'. I have established them between blacks and whites from any part of the world. Up to the present these friendships have united African blacks and European whites. There is nothing to prevent their extension over the whole world. The friendship between blacks and whites is a very small bridge of understanding and love over the terrible gap excavated by colonialism and anti-colonialism. A young German woman, wishing to correspond with a black, wrote to me: 'If I can contribute just a little to understanding between people, I will do it with all my heart, and that will make me happy'. A young man wrote to me on his part: 'Thank you very much for the address of Jean Mukendi which you have sent me. I have already had a letter from him, and today I have sent off my second letter to him. Although our correspondence is not yet very old, I have already got the impression that our dialogue will become very harmonious and fraternal. Probably I will never meet my new friend, as the distance between Europe and the Congo is very great, but that is not of great importance: for our thoughts there is neither distance nor frontier'. A black wrote to me from Leopoldville on the 4th of November: 'I have very good reason to interest myself in dialogues between blacks and whites. Anyone who has read a book like those of Saint-Exupéry is sensible of the distress in which those are plunged who have refused to recognize themselves as being what they are: broth-

ers. Dazzled by the differences, they have forgotten that at all latitudes a smile is a smile'.

I would also like, dear friends, to have the strenght to build a bridge, no matter how small, over that terrible iron curtain which divides humanity. I have shown you my method for that: to strive humbly and in small matters to bring together at work the people whom the iron curtain divides. The future will tell whether I have been able to do anything of this kind for Peace.

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The philosopher Jean Rostand wrote: 'The formidable consequences of recent progress in physics have put humanity in a state of alarm. It could be that in this respect our coarse West, intoxicated by material exploits and blinded by the fever of techniques, has something to learn from the calm spirituality of the East'.

I will finish by giving two small lessons, of which one is furnished us by wisdom of the West and the other by the calm spirituality of the East.

First a text from Antoine de Saint-Exupéry: 'The greatness of an enterprize', he writes, 'is before all else, perhaps, to unite men. There is only one true luxury, and that is the luxury of human relations'.

And to finish here is a text from Tagore:

> 'There were the spirit is without fear and the head is held high;
> There where the conscience is free;
> There where the world has not been cut up into petty separating localities;
> There where words come from the depths of sincerity;
> There where uniting effort stretches out the hand towards perfection;
> There where the clear current of the mind is not fatally lost in the dry and dismal desert of custom;
> There where the spirit, led by you, progresses in a continual broadening of thought and action —
> In that paradize of freedom, my Father, grant that my country may awaken'.

Book Reviews

DAWSON, Christopher, *The Movement of World Revolution*. London, Sheed and Ward, 1960, 179 p., 13/6 sh.

In this wide and discriminating study of the present technological transformation and its significance especially for the East, Christopher Dawson does not subscribe to the pessimistic school of historians of civilisation such as Spengler, who regard Europe as a spent force, and would seek an understanding of present world movements away from that continent whose unity they have not perceived, and whose parochialism has blinded them to the deeper meaning of its profound achievements, which have had their impact on world history, in a way that those of no other culture have had. On the contrary, Professor Dawson stresses the fact that, because Western Europe has lost its position of world leadership, this does not affect the value of its historical tradition nor take away from the possibilities of its future role.

Until a century or two ago, the isolation of the four great civilisations of the past one thousand years — China, Islam, India and European Christendom — was almost complete. The unique significance of Europe for the development of world history is to be sought in the part that continent has played in breaking down this isolation, and even in bringing the outer world, virtually unknown to these other cultures, into the light of civilisation and history. This achievement is so momentous that there is nothing to compare with it since the original creation of higher civilisation, which is lost in the mists of history.

Preoccupation with the details of national history in Europe have tended to mask the epoch-making changes which have been Europe's real contribution to world history: the breaking down of the oceanic barriers by the Spanish and Portuguese navigators, the penetration into the closed world of the other civilisations, and the world hegemony of Western culture. Due to the changes which these events brought about, European culture penetrated into the heart of the Asiatic and American continents and gradually subjected the resources and trade of the non-European world to the enterprise of the Western financier and merchant and to the skill of the Western technician and engineer.

This expansion of Western culture was not purely material: it involved the communication of knowledge and ideas, and that in both directions.

Hence the strange paradox that all the triumphs of Eastern nationalism have been the work of men of Western education who have been able to use the knowledge and ideas acquired from the West in the service of their own people. To this Professor Dawson attributes the ambivalence of the modern nationalist movement: the Westernised intelligentsia acted as a spearhead of national mass movements which were animated by anti-Western xenophobia.

He goes on to show that Communism itself, though it might seem to have certain Asiatic roots, is committed even in the East to Western social ideals in theory (though obviously not in practice); for the elements in Marxism, which are derived from the common tradition of Western socialism and democracy, are precisely those which must be put forward if Communist propaganda is to appeal to the East.

And so, although Europe has lost the chance of playing a dominant political role in the East, it nevertheless remains true that European civilisation with its modern extensions in America and Russia is at the heart of the present conflict of world revolution and of modern world history.

The author brilliantly expounds in his own inimitable majestic way the revolution in culture which began with the *Renaissance and Reformation,* proceeded through the phase of *Rationalism and Revolution,* was fostered by the *Missionary Expansion of Western Europe,* and the spread of *Western Ideologies,* and ultimately caused the *Revolt of Asia,* preceded as it was by the permeation of the East by Western ideas, which reached its culmination in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and precipitated the reaction of the rise of *Oriental Nationalism,* which has succeeded in expelling European political power.

Perhaps the most important chapter for a forward-looking periodical such as *World Justice* is the last one: *Christianity and Oriental Cultures.* Professor Dawson feels that the modern cosmopolitan civilisation leaves unsatisfied a great religious need. As in the ancient world, when Christianity first began, there will be a free market in ideas and any apostle who is able to satisfy these religious needs of modern man will obtain a hearing. Hence he sees a tremendous opportunity confronting the Christian Church today. This opportunity is matched by great difficulties, on the one hand modern secularism

and materialism of which the chief representative is Communism, on the other hand the challenge of religious nationalism which rejects Christianity as an alien creed. But according to him, these difficulties are not insurmountable, and he hazards the prophecy that the urban centres, just as they led to the spread of Christianity in the Roman world of the early Christian centuries, may be the key-points of a future spread of Christianity in the East.

A. McCormack

Couwenberg, Dr. S. W., *De strijd tussen Progressiviteit en Conservatisme.* Den Haag, Pax, 1959, 380 p.

An impressive work. What at first sight seems a purely sociological exposé is, in fact, an extensive study of the history of civilisation. One might even say that the book in its real context is essentially an historical work.

The author seeks to retrace the history of the opposing forces of conservatism and progress from earliest times.

He obviously strives to set out the facts objectively, but achieves doubtful success. To cite only one example among many: consciously or unconsciously, he still regards the Middle Ages as 'The Dark Ages'. It is quite alarming to read that 'There is no trace, either in private or community life during the Middle Ages, of a sincere desire for progress or of an effort to improve material standards' (p. 62). Any self-respecting historian must surely recognise the cultural influence of the abbeys, and the power and influence exercised by the communes in Northern Italy, Flanders and the German Empire (the Hanseatic towns).

Dr. Couwenberg makes a basic misconception in identifying modern civilisation — inasmuch as it is the product of the ideas of the Renaissance — with progress. Progress is thus seen to be synonymous with the ideology of the Age of Enlightenment.

One must draw as the logical conclusion that the new element of culture introduced with Christianity in the fourth century, and the conception of life as it was in the Middle Ages, are conceived as opposed to true progress. Consequently, it would seem somewhat paradoxical that the author should be opposed to all the great contemporary philosophical, cultural and social movements, because they represent a reaction against individual or collective positivism, which gave birth to the idea of progress (p. 31, p. 204, p. 295). On

account of this attachment *to his own idea of progress* the author is, willy-nilly, anti-modern.

Consequently, one must not be surprised to find that the writer is unable to uncover a valid argument for belief in tradition, in irrationalism, etc. It is possible to understand — regretfully none the less — that his own idea of progress has blinded him to such a point that he sometimes makes real mistakes. He says, for instance, that the development of individual personality has always been the principal ideal of socialism (p. 299).

Finally, on the political level, Dr. Couwenberg identifies progress with the centre left (p. 31). In the Netherlands, progress is represented by the promoters of the alliance of all moderate leftists (pp. 353-360), in Italy by the supporters of the 'apertura a sinistra'.

However, this book contains many accurate statements; for instance, his reference to the fact that it is the division within the socialist party which, since 1880, has been the reason for its fall from power. He gives a very fitting explanation of the evolution of Socialism in Britain; formally the right hand group of the International Socialist Party, English Socialism has become its extreme left wing.

Generally speaking, the author seems sufficiently well acquainted with communism, but he omits to mention some of the elements which have exercised a decisive influence on its development. For instance, we find no reference to the political power of the Soviet army, nor to the pressure which it exercises on the course of events.

L. Lauwers

HOLLIS, Christopher, *The Church and Economics*. London, Burns and Oates, 1961, 111 p., 8/6 sh.

This book is one of the Faith and Fact books in England (similar to the Daniel-Rops series in French) which in one hundred and fifty books are surveying the Church's response to the challenge of the twentieth century, in every sphere of human knowledge, by scholars with a deep knowledge of their faith and who are experts in a specialised field of knowledge.

Christopher Hollis is a distinguished public figure in Catholic circles and beyond, in England and in the international sphere. He is so versatile that it is not always realised that economics is a main subject of his, and that twenty years ago it lead him to write *The Breakdown of Money*. His wider interests have made this book on

this absorbing and difficult theme much deeper and more significant (and may one add more readable ?) than one by a narrow expert in economics.

In this book, he describes the Church's teaching on economics and how the Church has reacted to different economic situations in her long history. Naturally, it is the more modern chapters that have the greatest interest. His description of development of the Church's attitude of the economic progress of the last one hundred and fifty years with the milestones of the two encyclicals *Rerum Novarum* and *Quadragesimo Anno* which he admirably summarises leads him on to a theme completely in keeping with the ideals of *World Justice,* the extending to the whole world of the principles of social justice, now accepted in advanced societies of the West within the nations and largely in keeping with the teaching of the Church as propounded by Leo XIII — Pius XI — and Pius XII. His last chapter is headed: *International Social Justice.*

Of course, in such a slim volume it is not possible to deal adequately with such a vast theme. Some may feel that he stresses too much the role of the Church in 'putting the questions' rather than answering them and many Continental Catholic economists and social thinkers will be inclined to give much more importance to the practical influence of *Quadragesimo Anno* and *Rerum Novarum* and think that he may be judging too much from an insular English point of view, where a small minority of Catholics would have so much social influence as in France, Germany, Belgium and Holland.

A. McCormack

LIN Yutang, *From Pagan to Christian.* London, Heinemann, 1960, 12×19, 252 p., 16 sh.

Lin Yutang has attained in the West a degree of fame rarely equalled by his fellow Chinese. A few years before the war he published *My Country and My People* which gave a profound and humorous description of the qualities and faults of his race. Next, in *The Importance of Living* he explained why he, the son of a Protestant minister, had become a pagan. And now, finally, after he has retravelled the route — but in the opposite direction — he exposes the reasons that led him to find again the Faith of Christ.

His opening chapter is a fascinating account of his childhood and youth. This is followed by a dissertation castigating, in disappoint-

ment and anger, the education given at St. John's College to the extent that it prescinded from Chinese culture although perfect from a Western point of view. Mr. Lin was ignorant of the philosophy, popular literature and folklore of his country, and as professor at the Tsinhua University of Peking, not knowing even Chinese calligraphy, his handwriting was that of a man without culture. Becoming immersed in the currents of Chinese life and Chinese philosophy he soon rejected 'Western religion'.

But Mr. Lin always believed in God. In three chapters — amounting to half the book — which could well serve as an introduction to Chinese thought, he shows the complementary riches of Confucianism, Taoism, and Chinese Bouddhism. But all these glimmerings of truth are eclipsed by the splendour of the words of Christ. Having clearly pointed out the inconsistency of rationalism and of materialism, but also his distrust — which no Catholic could share — of all dogmatism and theology, conscious that he is still thoroughly and profoundly Chinese, Mr. Lin, in moving terms, affirms his love for the Person and the doctrine of the Saviour.

H. Jomin

BANNING, Dr. W., *Moderne Maatschappij Problemen.* Haarlem, de Erven F. Bohn, vol. I, 1959, 4th ed., 243 p., vol. II, 1958, 211 p.

Up to the publication of the third edition of *Moderne Maatschappij Problemen,* vol. I., the author was professor of social philosophy and of the social doctrine of the Church at the University of Leiden.

The aim of this work is not exclusively scientific: 'This book attempts to aid in the search of a valid moral attitude, and more particularly, attempts to establish a Christian judgment of the social evolution' (p. 9). Nevertheless, the author's starting point is rigorously scientific: the facts and statistics analysed by him are the precise and reliable reports of sociologists and historians, and it is of these that he makes his final synthesis. It must also be admitted that his erudition is immense, extending even to the most recent publications.

By the very nature of his subject the author is continually forced to fringe on ethical considerations, yet his attitude is extremely broad-minded. In this perspective he treats such problems as those resulting from mechanization, urbanization, social relations, social myths, and the labor problem. Likewise he considers the rural world of the present and future and the problems inherent in the family: its integration and disintegration.

But the fundamental problem is that of evolution. Our society is in the process of transformation. Hence the subtitle of the book: 'A Descriptive Analysis of the Forces and Developments in Contemporary Society with a View to Practical Work'. This expresses exactly the purpose of the work.

Volume II is sub-titled: 'A Comparative Study of Social Structures'. The author gives the characteristics of the various social structures, depicting consecutively the social structures in Europe, the United States and Russia. As also in the first volume his interest is especially in the evolutionary process: hence his contribution is no mere recital of the facts of social structure but an analysis accenting the changes taking place. As the Dutch sociologist *Goddyn* has well expressed it, Professor Banning in this work gives us a structural and functional analysis of social structures. The author points out especially the reciprocal dependance of the phenomena studied.

W. Dumon

BANNING, Dr. W., *Machten en Mensen*. Haarlem, de Erven F. Bohn, 1959, 211 p.

In his most recent work '*Machten en Mensen*' the author addresses 'a circle of readers extending beyond his sociologist colleagues'. This point is also accentuated by the subtitle: 'A Contribution to a Study of the Possibilities and Dangers which a Technical Society may bring on Human Life'.

The starting point of this publication is a reflection on the origin of the powers, which provides also an analytic study of 'the meaning of liberty in Europe'. Then he studies successively: the power of economy, the power of technique, the power of institutions; then the power of world politics, of democracy, and finally, 'the power of time'. Next, he gives 'the Christian answer', followed by a theological appendix.

This book is the result of a series of conferences given by the author on the Dutch radio: the V.P.R.O. Consequently the argumentation is in the first person. This, though rather appealing in general, can at times become almost embarrassing. Perhaps it is this also which explains the relative brevity of the bibliography of this book (in comparison with the preceding two), and also the absence of a list of names and of a table of contents.

Let us conclude by observing that Professor Banning's grasp of the

social problems of our day is so thorough that no serious student of these problems can afford to ignore his profound contribution.

W. Dumon

BAILEY, Robert B., *Sociology Faces Pessimism*. The Hague, M. Nijhoff, 1958, 173 p.

A clear account of a difficult subject. The author makes a lively attack on modern pessimistic philosophies that do not accept the idea of progress. Even though the author understands that a radical distinction must be made between present day irrationalist pessimism — which is a 'Weltanschauung', and hence a philosophy, — and sociology which is a positive science, still he rallies to the theories of Comte, Marx and others, and refuses to separate sociology from philosophy.

He is convinced that the origin of sociology cannot be conceived without taking into account the theories of progress. Bailey joins the minority of sociologists who hold that sociology must have a philosophical structure and foundation. We find a similar attitude in Sorokin. In this book, 'Fads and Fables in Modern Sociology and Related Sciences' (1956), Sorokin is especially at variance with sociologists who look upon sociology as a science of nature. But Bailey's attack is directed not so much against scientists, as against philosophers who do not accept the idea of progress, which he supposes to be the basis of any sound sociology. In consequence, a great part of this work deals with writers who have little or no relation with sociology: Leibniz, Kant, Hegel, Condorcet, Darwin, Lord Byron, Heine, Voltaire, etc...

It is immediately evident, then, that there are several debatable points in this discussion, chiefly on the philosophical level. Thus, on p. 122, we meet with a rather questionable comparison of the idea of progress and of religious belief; on pp. 124-125, the similarity of Spengler's and Toynbee's systems.

The most important objection to this book, however, is that it deliberately rejects the rules and methods of positive science, although it does have merit as a compilation or brief account of the philosophies of progress and of the irrationalist and pessimist systems of philosophy. Therefore we may find it somewhat strange to read that: 'The sociologist should be biased in favor of truth... rationality... social utility... scientific freedom...' Is n't it a rule of all objective science that

one must at all costs try to avoid prejudices whatever be their source ?

However this seems logical because it agrees with the author's principles. It remains to be seen whether this point of departure can be admitted and upheld.

L. Lauwers

Reeks *Mens en Medemens* (Series *Man and Fellow-man*). Utrecht-Antwerpen, Spectrum, 13×21.

PIEPER, J., *De regels van het maatschappelijk spel.* 1959, 2d ed., 132 p., 54 BF.

OLDENDORFF, Dr. A., *Mensen onder elkaar.* 1959, 3d ed., 96 p., 45 BF.

VAN DER VEN, Dr. F. J. H. M., *Sociale grondrechten.* 1959, 121 p., 50 BF.

ANEMA, M. J., *De praktijk der Public Relations.* 1959, 122 p., 50 BF.

DE JONG, Dr. J. J., a.o., *Pressiegroepen.* 1959, 102 p., 45 BF.

As is clearly indicated by the sub-title, this series is comprised of brief studies, dealing with different aspects of social reality. It includes a wide range not only of themes and topics, but also of the aspects under which they may be considered. Each of the Social Sciences has its turn — philosophical, positive, normative science, etc. — and this is sometimes confusing.

The Rules of Social Play

It is rather difficult to say whether J. Pieper's little book belongs to the domain of sociology or philosophy. Pieper is an esteemed philosopher, and it is therefore not surprising that he should use the word sociology when he really means philosophy. This follows in the steps of German sociological tradition. To complicate matters still further, Pieper speaks of the ethical basis for his study (p. 14). If it is really based on such a foundation it would seem to belong not only to the field of social philosophy, but also to moral philosophy.

Despite its limitations it is an interesting work. The author does not consider all groups, only 'the circles' (Plenge): the community, society, structure. Furthermore, he considers them only 'in abstracto', without speaking of concrete forms. He calls it the histological viewpoint, as opposed to the organological aspect (p. 12).

Men in their own Midst

Professor Oldendorff's chapters on social psychology cover but a fraction of this discipline. After studying briefly the formation of images he goes on, in Chapter 2, to deal with the problem of communication: forms of mutual contact between men, both verbal and written. In the third chapter he speaks of the main phenomena of human relations: friends, the family, occupation, industry, etc.

This study offers the reader reliable information written in a simple pleasing manner.

The Fundamental Social Laws

In his preamble Professor F.J.H.M. Van der Ven warns us quite clearly that, in this work on the fundamental social laws, he has not conformed to the method of moral philosophy, but has followed the empirical method (p. 7).

In chapter I he gives a brief historical survey. In spite of the initial warning, his second chapter goes on to consider the problem from the aspect of social philosophy and ethics (natural law). However, in the same chapter we encounter some judicial considerations. Chapter 3 contains an explicit survey of the science of law.

The supplements are worth notice: here are contained translations of the main papers in this field — i.e. those produced by O.N.U. and the Council of Europe.

The Practice of Public Relations

M. J. Anema offers us a pleasing and concise study on Public Relations. The essential merit of this book is its clearly stated argument. After drawing a distinction between the different forms of Public Relations (p.21), the writer devotes a separate chapter to each and provides us with a clear and succinct picture of internal, local, commercial and external relations, and of relations with special groups and the press.

Pressure groups

Several specialists have collaborated to produce this collection of studies on pressure groups. Professor J. J. De Jong considers the problem from the Political Science angle. Dr. M. J. Brouwer puts forward the social psychologist's point of view. The purely sociological standpoint is dealt with by professor J.A.A. Van Doorn, and the economic aspect by Professor J. Pen.

Let us particularly notice the remark made by Professor De Jong that the idea of pressure groups is all the rage, and has become a fashionable term, even though this notion has always been in existence (pp. 12-13). Professor De Jong renders a valuable service in his effort to bring order to the confusion prevalent in this field. He seeks to draw up a classified plan of the different pressure groups (pp. 17-18). The major part of this book is dedicated, naturally enough, to social psychology. The bibliography is of value, taking into account the size of the book.

Everyone will surely agree with Professor Van Doorn's statement that pressure groups are a phenomenon, worthy of a central position in modern sociology (p. 85). Professor Pen's point of view is rather specialised, as he himself admits (p. 86). Contrary to general opinion, which recognises pressure groups only on the political level, he discusses them on the economic level, i.e. the pressure exercised through the machinery of the labour-market.

L. Lauwers

DELCOURT, Jacques, *Famille et Civilisation Urbaine*. Bruxelles, La Pensée Catholique, 1960, 142 p.

This small study of family life in our modern urban civilisation is written with a deceptive clarity and simplicity, which covers very extensive research and considerable thought on one of the most pressing problems of our day: the vulnerability of family life, isolated from the traditional roots that have supported it for centuries, in face of the pressures of industrial and technological society.

Professor Delcourt writes with an admirable detachment and objectivity in analysing these pressures and the factors that have made city family life what it is today, with its weaknesses and potential strengths.

He makes it clear that the small family is here to stay (By 'small' he means one to three children). We are therefore faced with a completely new situation and have been for some time. No longer can the family itself, as in the past, where several generations lived under the one roof generally with numerous children, and formed a powerful production unit, with a good deal of self-sufficiency, provide the economic and social security for its members that it did. 'Social security' in place of 'family security' has so far proved inadequate. Hence the vulnerability of the family at the present day.

One may remark in passing the understanding treatment of the

desire for smaller families, especially on the part of women, in modern society. Too often this attitude is regarded by moralists as something undesirable or unworthy of a Christian, as if the command to 'increase and multiply' had to be interpreted in the same mathematical terms for all ages and all circumstances. It can, as M. Delcourt insists, and very often does, spring from a perfectly legitimate desire to bring up children properly and to see to it that the young mother does not become a household drudge, incapable of fulfilling adequately her deeply important duties of love and maternal care. She has also the need to develop her own personality, and for this she needs a certain amount of leisure, very difficult to obtain in our society, if children are numerous and she is isolated.

The author describes how families are adapting to the ways of urban life and shows how that adaptation falls short in many ways from what is possible and desirable. He sketches the problems, in a very down-to-earth way, which the disintegration of the old ideal of family life has brought with regard to the loss of functions of the family, formerly regarded as inherent and essential. He makes the point that these functions need not really be lost, if organisations composed of families take an active part in the direction or supervision of the institutions and services which have now assumed the duties which hitherto depended much more on the family: education, medical treatment, production of food and clothing, leisure activities and so on.

M. Delcourt makes a plea that new suburban districts should not be mere dormitory towns, but should have an integrated social life, in fact should contain and be social centres, in which the family can develop away from the isolation which presses so heavily, economically, socially and psychologically, especially on young married women and on the old. An interesting appendix on p. 133 shows clearly the functions and amenities that he envisages such a centre should have.

The solution that the author gives for the problems of vulnerability and isolation is the union of family groups of such strength that they can influence political decisions and legislation in favour of the family, and also so that they can offset the pressures to which the weak position of families as consumers exposes them, especially in view of the tremendous power of modern publicity methods and monopolies, which unless strictly controlled, always act against the interests of the small family.

A. McCormack

RYAN, John, M.B., B.S., F.R.C.S., F.I.C.S., *Family Limitation.* (Modern Medical Observations on the use of the «Safe Period» with a note on the Gestogens and oral contraception, with a Forward by Alan Keenan O.F.M.). London, Sheed and Ward, 1960, 68 p., 5 sh.

This is an enlarged edition of the small booklet published some years ago by this distinguished gynaecologist, who has for many years been a pioneer in English speaking countries of the temperature method of the rhythm technique of the regulation of births. This new edition has valuable additional material, notably with regard to references and a short but valuable section on the state of medical knowledge and on Catholic moral principles on the use of hormonal preparations which constitute the so called 'contraceptive pills'.

The introduction gives a clear and useful summary of the Catholic Church's attitude, what she regards as morally allowable means of regulating the number of children in a family. The main part of the booklet describes the temperature method, the usefulness of which is indicated by the very large readership which the original pamphlet had throughout the world. It dispels the idea that the only certain thing about the safe period is its uncertainty, at the same time it honestly presents the conditions where such a technique would be contra-indicated. The work of J.G.H. Holt of Holland and Dr. Van der Stappen (in Nantes) and of other specialists in this subject confirms the claims of Mr. Ryan. Indeed before Dr. Van der Stappen died last December he was convinced that the temperature method, properly used, was as effective or even more effective than conventional contraceptive methods of birth control and material based on his researches claiming to prove this is being prepared for publication.

The importance of this method, in keeping with the moral principle of every major religion, need not be stressed. There is often good reason for limiting the family even in developed countries and for these cases it has been and will be invaluable. For the underdeveloped countries too without magnifying it into a wholesale population remedy, there are very many individual cases of hardship, sometimes affecting whole populations, which would and should be alleviated by this method.

A. McCormack

Le régime et les institutions de la république populaire chinoise. Centre d'Études des Pays de l'Est, Institut de Sociologie Solvay, Université libre de Bruxelles, 1960, 15,5×23,5, 228 p., 210 BF.

We find in this symposium twelve addresses delivered in October 1959 on the political, sociological and economic problems which beset the People's China. Contrary to custom, these addresses are accompanied by résumés of the 'sometimes heated' discussions which followed them. The address given by Fr. Sohier on 'religion in the People's China' aroused violent protests. These will astonish any impartial reader of the remarkable exposition of the facts to which the speaker confined himself. René Dumont, as a specialist, studies the 'agrarian transformations'. His replies to the questions which were afterwards put to him, enabled him to qualify his statements, in particular on the value of statistics. In 'juridical life', Prof. R. Dekkers seems to be ignorant of the complete work of codification carried out by the Nationalist regime. Far from making any advance on a 'feudal law' which it inherited, the People's Republic has forced China into a veritable juridical retreat. The same study deals with the cooperatives in agricultural production, but remains content with the following phrase for the People's Communes: 'As for the famous communes, they were set up under the form of cooperative associations'. This is very little for what Peking considers as the Chinese road to communism. Prof. Chesneaux assigns a more important place to these communes in 'the social transformations'. To Prof. Etiemble's study of 'the reform of language and script', it is worth adding some details. As early as the beginning of 1955, statements like the following were to be found in the press: We must strive for a phonetic script. This will take time. Meanwhile, we are simplifying the characters (*Kwangmin Jihpao,* 3/2/55). The specialists approved. But at the time of the Hundred Flowers, the same men displayed such opposition to any romanisation, that the Government recoiled. But this was no more than a strategic retreat, as can be seen from the *Wenhui Pao* 30/10/57: 'Phonetic reform is a necessity for the masses, and the Party will not yield to the opinions of five million intellectuals'. Prof. Gerlo shows the efforts made to develop education and to combat illiteracy. But with the adults there was no end to the work. Thus, in a hsien of Shantung, 90 per cent of the adults who were studying, had learned to read and write, but 'owing to the needs of production, more than half of them became illiterate again' (*Chungkuo Yüwen,* 2/59).

H. Jomin

Marxism in Southeast Asia, Edited by Frank N. Trager. Stanford, California, Stanford University Press, 1959, 16×25, 381 p.

Only four countries of Southeast Asia are studied in this book, but they are well chosen because they all differ greatly from each other in the matter of Marxist infiltration. In one of them, Vietnam, after a struggle lasting several years and ending in victory, the communists are now masters of the northern half of the country: and in the south, in spite of an openly anti-communist government, their guerilla activity constitutes a growing menace. In Indonesia the communist party has become the largest and most influential party, as it is the best organised one, and is admitted into all the organisations of President Soekarno's 'guided democracy' the finest prospects lie before it. In Burma, where the majority of the communists have been in a state of armed revolt since 1948, the government is in the hands of non-communist Marxists whose views are inclining more and more to those of the more moderate social democrats. As for Thailand, this is a country which has never experienced foreign occupation; the peasants, who make up the immense majority of the population, own the land they cultivate, and most of the educated men of the country hold government posts — a fact which does not incite them to revolt. Consequently, marxism finds scarcely any room for manœuvre, and has no hope except from forces from outside. For each of the countries, specialists trace the history of marxism, communist as well as non-communist, in its relations with local nationalism. Beside giving a short introduction to the book, Professor Trager provides a remarkably good concluding essay entitled 'The Impact of Marxism: Historical Overview and Judgment', in which he studies the variations in communist strategy and tactics, from Marx to Khrushchev, with regard to nationalist parties and organisations, and then with regard to the governments of former colonies which have now become independent. He also comments on the evolution of the general tendencies in this region against communist action and other political experiments. This well-documented book is all the more interesting in that it gives an account of the history not only of communism, but also of all the forms of socialism which are connected either remotely or closely with Marx.

H. Jomin

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LAW 34

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